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BOOK II. CHAP. I—XIII. 4.

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THE FIRST PART

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

W O R L D:

INTREATING OF THE

TIMES FROM THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of Abraham; and of the use of this question for the ordering of the story of the Assyrian empire.

SECT. I.

Of some of the successors of Semiramis; with a brief transition to the question, about the time of the birth of Abraham.

AFTER the death of Semiramis, Ninias or Zameis succeeded her in the empire, on whom Berosus Annianus bestows the conquest of Bactria, and the overthrow of Zoroaster, contrary to Diodorus, Justin, Orosius, and all other approved writers. For Ninias being esteemed no man of war at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this Ninias of

any moment, other than that out of jealousy he every year changed his provincial governors, and built colleges for the Chaldean priests, his astronomers; nor by Arius his successor, whom Suidas calleth Thuras; but that he reduced again the Bactrians and Caspians, revolted, as it seemeth, in Ninias's time; nor of Aralius, the successor of Arius, but that he added sumptuosity, invented jewels of gold and stone, and some engines for the war; I will for this present pass them over, and a while follow Abraham, whose ways are warrantable, (till we meet these Assyrians again in this story,) by whom, and by whose issues we shall best give date to the kings of Babylon; Abraham living at once with Ninus, Ninias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralius, and Xerxes, or Balanius. For otherwise, if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of those times, which the scriptures set us down without error, by the reigns of the Assyrian princes, we shall but patch up the story at adventure, and leave it in the same confusion in which to this day it hath remained. For where the scriptures do not help us, (as Plut. in Theseo,) *Mirum non est in rebus antiquis historiam non constare;* "No marvel if then in "things very ancient, history want assurance."

The better therefore to find out in what age of the world, and how long these Assyrian kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of Abraham's birth, and in what year the same happened after the flood. Now since all agree that the forty-third year of Ninus was the birth year of Abraham, by proving directly out of the scriptures, in what year after the flood the birth of Abraham happened, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much jangling between those chronologers which follow the Hebrew account, and others; the most part making 292 or 293 years, others 352 years between Abraham's birth and the flood; a matter often disputed, but never concluded.

Archilochus *de Temporibus* (as we find him in Annius,) makes but 250 years from the flood to Ninus; then seeing that Abraham was born in the forty-third year of Ninus,

according to Eusebius and St. Augustine, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the year of Abraham's birth was in the year after the flood 293, or, as the most part of all chronologers gather, the year 292.

Now, since I do here enter into that never resolved question and labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give reason for my own opinion; and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number; with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts which envy casteth at novelty, than to go on safely and sleepily in the easy ways of ancient mistakings; seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

SECT. II.

A proposal of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was born in the year 292 *after the flood, and not in the year* 352.

THOSE which seek to prove this account of 292 years between the general flood and Abraham's birth, ground themselves first on these words of the scripture: *So Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran:* 2dly, Upon the opinion of Josephus, St. Augustine, Beda, Isidore, and many of the ancient Hebrews before them; authorities (while they are slightly looked over) seeming of great weight.

From the place of scripture last remembered, the latter chronologers gather these arguments. First, Out of the words as they lie; that *Terah at seventy years begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran;* and that Abraham being the first named, Abraham being the worthiest, Abraham being the son of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest son of Terah, and so necessarily born in the seventieth year of his life. Secondly, It was of Abraham that Moses had respect, in whom the church of God was continued, who was heir of the blessing, and not of Nahor and Haran: for the scope of this chapter was to set down

the genealogy of Christ, from Adam to Abraham, without all regard of Nahor and Haran.

It is thirdly objected, That if Abraham were not the eldest son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtful. For it cannot then be proved, that Abraham was born more assuredly in the 130th year of Terah's age, than in the year 131, 132, &c. Moses having no where set down precisely that Abraham went into Canaan that very year in which his father died.

Fourthly, It is thought improbable that Terah begat Abraham at 130 years, seeing Abraham himself thought it a wonder to be made a father at 100 years.

SECT. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan; and it after his father's death.

TO answer all which objections it is very easy, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned divines long since, and to which I will add somewhat of my own, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of Abraham's journey into Canaan be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so far, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his travels, that serveth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived that Abraham made two journeys into Canaan; the latter after his father's death, the former presently upon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not staying for his father's death at Haran; a conjecture drawn from a place in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it is written, [a]*By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed God, to go out into a place which he should afterwards receive for inheritance; and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* This supposition (if it be granted)

[a] Heb. xi. 8.

serves very well to uphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the supposition itself.

Surely that Abraham first departed Charran, or Haran, after the death of Terah his father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of St. Stephen; [b] *And after his father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell,* that was, out of Haran into Canaan. Against which place, so direct and plain, what force hath any man's fancy or supposition, persuading that Abraham made two journeys into Canaan, one before Terah's death, and another after, no such thing being found in the scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alleged can pick any argument, proving or affording any strong presumption, that Abraham passed into [c] Canaan, and then returned unto Haran, from whence he departed a second time; then I think it reason that he be believed in the rest. But that he performed the commandment of God after his father's death, leaving Ur and Haran for Canaan, it is as true as the scriptures themselves are true. *For after his father was dead,* saith the martyr Stephen, *God brought him into this land.* And, as Beza noteth, if Abraham made a double journey into Canaan, then must it be inferred that Moses omitted the one, and Stephen afterwards remembered the other; and whence had Stephen, saith Beza, the knowledge of Abraham's coming into Canaan, but out of Moses? For if Stephen had spoken any thing of those times, differing from Moses, he had offered the Jews, his adversaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himself and the gospel of Christ. Indeed we shall find small reason to make us think that Abraham passed and repassed those ways, more often than he was enforced so to do, if we consider that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his faith in God's promise; in which, if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more

[b] Acts vii. 4. [c] Heb. xi. 8.

cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a region of strong and stubborn nations; a nation of valiant and resolved idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driven to fly into Egypt for relief. His wife was old, and he had no son to inherit the promise. And when God had given him Isaac, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for sacrifice; all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, Let us consider the ways themselves which Abraham had to pass over, the length whereof was 300 English miles; and through countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great river of Euphrates, to travel through the dangerous and barren deserts of Palmyrena, and to climb over the great and high mountains of Libanus, Hermon, or Gilead; and whether these were easy walks for Abraham to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, 300 miles in length, let every reasonable man judge. For if he travelled it twice, then was his journey in all 1800 miles from Ur to Haran; and from Haran twice into Canaan. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy, the manner of Abraham's departing from Haran hath more proof, that he had not *animum revertendi*, not any thought looking backward, than any man's bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written of him; [d] *Then Abraham took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they possessed, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran; and they departed to go to the land of Canaan; and to the land of Canaan they came.* Now if Abraham brought all with him that was dear unto him, his wife and kinsmen, and his and their goods, it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a country as that was; or if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsettled, and pressed with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his father been then alive, he might have

[d] Gen. xii. 5.

hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the Egyptians, to whom he was a mere stranger both in religion and nation.

What the cause might be of Abraham's return to Haran, as I will not inquire of them, that without warrant from the scriptures have sent him back thither, about the time of his father's death; so they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not over troublesome. They say, that Abraham was in Haran at his father's death, or some time after, being then by their account 135 years old, or a little more. How then did it happen that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within four or five years after that time his greatest, or, as may seem, his only care? Did not he [e]bind with a very solemn oath his principal servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travel into those parts, and seek out a wife for Isaac his son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in Mesopotamia, that they could particularly design any one woman as a fit match for Isaac? Surely if Abraham had been there in person so lately as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgment, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only son, who was then thirty-five years old, before which age most of the patriarchs after the flood had begotten children, rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any in that country. But let it be supposed (if it may be believed) that either Abraham forgot this business when he was there, or that somewhat happened which no man can devise. What might be the reason that [f]Abraham's man, in doing his master's errand, was fain to lay open the whole story of his master's prosperity, telling it as news, that Sa-

[e] Gen. xxiv. [f] Gen. xxiv. 35, 36, &c.

rah had borne to him a son in her old age? If Abraham himself, a more certain author, had so lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawful for Abraham to have returned back to Haran, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable; considering how averse he was from permitting his son to be carried thither, even though a wife of his own kindred could not have been obtained without his personal presence. [g] Jacob indeed was sent thither by his parents to take a wife of his own lineage, not without God's especial approbation, by whose [h] blessing he prospered in that journey; yet he lived there as a servant, suffered many injuries, and finally was driven to convey himself away from thence by flight. For although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of returning to the place from whence he hath taken and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember Lot's wife*, contains much matter. Let us but consider Mesopotamia, from whence Abraham was taken, and Egypt, out of which the whole nation of the Israelites was delivered; we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them to the posterity of the Hebrews. When [i] Hezekiah was visited with an honourable embassy from Babel, it seems that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophecy which thereupon he heard by Isaiah, made him to know that the counsel of God was not agreeable to such thoughts; which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when *by the waters of Babylon they sat down and wept.* Concerning Egypt we read, that [k] Sesac and Neco, kings of Egypt, brought calamity upon Israel; also that their confidence in the Egyptian succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into Egypt, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but

[g] Gen. xxiv. 6, 8.
[h] Gen. xxviii.
[i] 2 Kings xx.
[k] Psal. cxxxvii. 1 Kings xiv. 25. and 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

it is found in Deuteronomy xvii. 16. that God had said, *They should no more return that way;* which is given as the reason why their king might not cause the people to return to Egypt, for the multiplying of his horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction upon Abraham of not returning to Mesopotamia, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably; that he never did return, all circumstances do (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of Abraham is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can persuade those of judgment or understanding; I take it sufficient, that St. Stephen hath directly taught us, that Abraham left Haran, his father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of Abraham are precisely set down in the scriptures; as first from Ur, or Camerina in Chaldea, to Haran, or Charran; and then from Haran (after his father's death) to Sichem; from Sichem he removed to a mountain between Bethel and Hai; thence into Egypt; from Egypt he returned thither again, where Lot and he parted, because their flocks and herds of cattle were more than could be fed in that part; from thence, the second time, he removed to Mamre, near Hebron; and thence having pursued Amraphel, and rescued Lot, he after inhabited at Gerar, in the border of Idumæa, under Abimelech; and after near unto it at Bersabe, at which time he was ready to offer up his son Isaac on the mountain Moriah. But this fiction of his retreat to Haran, or Charran, appeareth not in any one story, either divine or human. Now if it may be supposed that Abraham had made any former journey into Canaan, as Levita in his Cabala hath feigned, it should in reason be therewithal believed, that he would in those his first travels have provided himself of some certain seat or place of abiding; and not have come a second time, with his wife, kinsmen, family, goods, and cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But Abraham, when he came

from Charran, passed through the north part of Canaan, thence to [l]Sichem, and the plain of Moriah; where finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to Bethel and Hai; and so from nation to nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation; from whence again, as it is written in Genesis xii. 9. *he went forth, going and journeying towards the south*, and always unsettled. By occasion of which wandering to and fro, some say the Egyptians gave him and his the name of [m] Hebræi. Further, to prove that he had not formerly been in the country, we may note, that ere he came to Bethel and Hai, and at his first entrance into Canaan, God appeared unto him, saying, *Unto thy seed will I give this land*, shewing it him as unto a stranger therein, and as a land to him unknown. For Abraham, without any other provident care for himself, believed in the word of the living God, neither sending before, nor coming first to discover it; but being arrived he received a second promise from God, that he would give those countries unto him and his seed to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, What should move any man to think, that Moses would have omitted any such double journey of Abraham's, seeing he setteth down all his passages elsewhere, long and short? As when he moved from Sichem, and seated between Hai and Bethel, the distance being but twenty miles; and when he moved thence to the valley of Mamre, being but twenty-four miles; and when he left Mamre, and sat down at Gerar, being less than six miles; no, Moses passed over all the times of the first age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the story of Abraham; shutting up all between the creation and the flood in six chapters, which age lasted 1656 years; but he bestoweth on the story of Abraham fourteen chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175 years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that Moses forgot or neglected any thing concerning Abraham's travels or other actions; or that he would set down those small removes of

[l] Gen. xii. 6. [m] Mont. in Caleb.

five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and coming would have ministered some variety of matter or accident worthy the inserting and adding to Abraham's story.

SECT. IV.

The answer to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely that Terah should beget Abraham in his 130th year.

NOW touching the objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikely that Terah should beget Abraham in his 130th year, seeing Abraham himself thought it a wonder to have a son at an hundred; this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscast and mistaken, Abraham having respect only to Sarah his wife, when he spake of their many years. For when the angel said unto Abraham in his tent door at Mamre, *Lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women; therefore Sarah laughed*, &c.

So then, in that it is said, *it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on Abraham. For Abraham, by his second wife Keturah, had many sons after Sarah's death, as Zimron, Jockshan, Medan, Midian, Ishback, and Shuah; and the eldest of these was born thirty-seven years after Isaac, and the youngest forty years after. What strangeness then, that Terah, being 130 years old, should beget Abraham, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of Abraham at 100 years? for Sarah died in the year of the world 2145, and Isaac was born in the year 2109, and Abraham did not marry [n] Keturah till Sarah was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109 out of 2145, there remaineth thirty-six; and therefore if Abraham begat five sons thirty-six years after this supposed

[n] Origen. Homil. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 34. Cajetan. et Perer. in Gen.

wonder, and when Abraham was 137 years old, it is not strange that his father Terah should beget Abraham at 130. And if Boaz, Obed, and Jesse, who lived so many years and ages after Abraham, begat sons at 100 years, or near it, it cannot be marvelled at, that Terah begat Abraham at 130, and Abraham others at the same age, and seven years after.

SECT. V.

The answer to two more of the objections; shewing that we may have certainty of Abraham's age from the scripture, though we make not Abraham the eldest son; and that there was great cause, why in the story of Abraham his two brethren should be respected.

IT followeth now to speak something to the objection, which brings Abraham's age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest son of Terah, and born when Terah was seventy years old. For Abraham's age being made uncertain, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certain of Abraham's age, unless we make him the eldest son, is false. For it is plain in the scriptures, that when Terah was 205, which was the year of his death, then was Abraham seventy-five. And if you ask, how I can judge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that Abraham departed Haran at that age; I answer, that St. Stephen hath told us, that Abraham's departure followed the death of his father Terah: and Terah died at 205; so as the seventy-fifth year of Abraham was the 205th year of Terah; which known, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is said, That Moses had no respect unto Nachor and Haran, because they were out of the church, but to Abraham only, with whom God established the covenant, and of whom Christ descended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, that Moses, for many great and necessary causes, had respect of Nachor and Haran. For the succession of God's church is not witnessed by Abraham alone, but by the issues of Nahor and Haran, were they idolaters or other-

wise. For Nahor was the father of Bethuel, and Bethuel of Rebecca, the mother of Israel; and Haran was the parent of Lot, Sarah, and Milcah; and Sarah was mother to Isaac, and grandmother to Jacob; Milcah also the wife of Nahor, and mother of Bethuel, was Jacob's great grandmother; and the age of Sarah, the daughter of Haran, is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a son at ninety years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both Nahor and Abraham married thē daughters of their brother Haran; and because Isaac married Rebecca the grandchild of Nahor; and Jacob, Leah and Rachel, the daughters of Laban, the grandchild also of Nahor; it was not superfluous in Moses to give light of these men's times and ages. And though sometimes they worshipped strange gods, as it is Joshua xxiv. 2. yet I see no cause to think that they still continued idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of Abraham, leaving their natural country and city of Ur in Chaldea, as Abraham did, and removed thence all, except Haran, who died before his father Terah, ere they left Chaldea; but Lot, his son, followed Abraham in Canaan; and Sarah, the sister of Lot, Abraham married. Nahor also, who remained at Charran, gave his sons' daughters to Isaac and Jacob, his own kinsmen; he himself having also married in his own family, not thinking it pleasing unto God to mix themselves with strangers and idolaters. And that these men at length believed in the God of Abraham, it can no way be doubted. For when Laban had seen the servant of Abraham standing at the well beside Charran, he invited him to his father's house in this manner; [o] *Come in, thou blessed of Jehovah*, &c. And when this servant of Abraham's demanded an answer as touching Rebecca, then answered Laban and Bethuel, and said, [p] *This thing is proceeded of Jehovah;* meaning that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged God's providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written,

[o] Gen. xxiv. 31. [p] Gen. xxiv. 50.

Take, go, that she may be thy master's son's wife, even as Jehovah hath said. This their often using of the name of Jehovah, which is the proper name of the true God, is a sign that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of St. Chrysostom, and some later writers, as Cajetan, Oleaster, Musculus, Calvin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an idolater, because he retained certain idols or household gods, which Rachel stole from him; yet that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abraham's servant, blessed of Jehovah, as aforesaid. So as for myself, I dare not avow that these men were out of the church, who sure I am were not out of the faith.

SECT. VI.

That the naming of Abraham first of the three brethren, Gen. xi. 26. *doth not prove that he was the eldest; together with divers reasons proving that Abraham was not the eldest son of Terah.*

TO the main objection, which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove, that Abraham was the eldest son of Terah, and born in the seventieth year of Terah's life; grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the scripture, [q] *And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran;* to this I say, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born son of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in scriptures was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appear that it pleased God to make especial choice of the first sons in nature and time; for Seth was not the first-born of Adam, nor Isaac of Abraham, nor Jacob of Isaac, nor Judah and Joseph of Jacob, nor David the eldest son of Jesse, nor Solomon of David, as is formerly remembered.

But it is written of Noah, *Noah was five hundred years*

[q] Gen. xi. 26.

old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet; shewing that at the 500th year of his age he began to get the first of those three sons. For according to St. Augustine, speaking generally: [r] *Nec attendendus est in his ordo nativitatis, sed significatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excelluit Abraham;* "The order of nativity is not here "to be respected, but the signification of the future dig- "nity; in which Abraham was preferred." And therefore as in the order of the sons of Noah, so is it here; where it is said, *That Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran;* for it was late ere Terah began to beget sons, himself being begotten by his father Nachor at twenty-nine, as others his ancestors were at thirty. The like also happened to Noah; for whereas Adam begat Seth at 130, Enosh Kenan at ninety, Kenan Mahalaleel at seventy, Mahalaleel Jared at sixty, Noah was yet 500 years old when he began to beget the first of his three sons, as aforesaid. And St. Augustine, in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the youngest of Terah's sons, than otherwise; though for his excellency he was worthily named first. His own words are these: *Fieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus Abraham; sed merito excellentiæ, qua in scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus;* "It might be," saith he, "that Abraham was begotten later; but was first "named in regard of his excellency, for which in scripture "he is much commended." So as the naming first or last proveth nothing who was first or last born, either in those issues of Noah, or in these of Terah; neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spiritual blessing; for Moses nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in God's favour: *Pietas ergo vel ipsa potius electio divina, quæ comitem secum trahit pietatem, et Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, et Abrahamo in liberis Thare;* "Piety," saith he, "or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw "with it or after it piety and the fear of God, gave place

[r] Aug. quæst. super Gen. xxv.

" and precedency to Sem among the children of Noah, and " to Abraham among those of Thare."

For the rest it is manifest, that [s]Abraham entered Canaan in the seventy-fifth year of his age. And it was in Canaan that [t]Hagar bare him Ismael, when Abraham had lived eighty-six years. It was at Gerar (the south border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Isaac, when Abraham had consumed 100 years. It was from the valley of Mamre in Canaan that Abraham rose out, when he [u]rescued Lot and overthrew Amraphel; and he had then but the age of eighty-three years; and it is as manifest that he parted from Haran after his father Terah was dead. But if Terah begat Abraham at seventy years old, then must Abraham have been 135 years when he first set his foot in Canaan; seeing Terah must be dead ere he parted, and so seventy added to 135 made 205, the true age of Terah, which is contrary to all those places of scripture before remembered. For he entered at seventy-five, he rescued Lot at eighty-three, he had Ismael at eighty-six, he had Isaac at 100, proved by the former places.

Moreover, if Abraham were the eldest son of Terah, and born in the seventieth year of his age; then had Terah lived till Isaac had been thirty-five years old, and Ismael forty-nine, both which must then have been born in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age; unless we should either deny credit to St. Stephen, who saith that Abraham departed from Mesopotamia after his father's death; or else give credit to the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, who, in his Chronologia Antoptica, saith, it was about his father's death; because the Greek word μετὰ may be translated by the Latin *sub*, as well as by *post;* which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terah's death, which were sixty years before. Wherefore, supposing Abraham to have been born in the seventieth year of Terah, we must give those times

[s] Gen. xii. 4. [t] Gen. xvi. 16. [u] Acts vii. 4. and Gen. xiv.

and places of birth to Abraham's children, which no authority will warrant; for Abraham had no children in Ur of Chaldæa, nor in Haran; nor in ten years after his arrival into Canaan. For the year of Terah's death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the year of the world 2083; and the year of Ismael's birth was the world's year 2094, which maketh ten years difference. And that Isaac was born in Canaan, and was to be offered upon the mountain Moriah therein, thirty-nine miles from Bersabe, where Abraham then inhabited, and that three angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of Abraham's sons were born in Mesopotamia; nor while Terah lived; nor in less than ten years after Terah's death; and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest son of Terah, nor born in the seventieth year of Terah's age.

Thirdly, Whereas [x] Abraham came into Canaan at 75, if Terah had begotten him at 70, then had Terah lived but 145, for 70 and 75 make 145, which must also have been the full age of Terah; but Terah lived 205 years, and therefore was not Abraham born in the 70th year of Terah.

Fourthly, The ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest that Haran was the elder, if not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sarah, or Iscah, wanted but 10 years of Abraham's age; Isaac being born when Abraham was 100, and Sarah 90 years old.

It followeth then, that if Abraham had been the elder brother of Haran, Haran must have begotten Sarah at nine years old; for granting that Haran was born but one year after Abraham, and Sarah within ten years as old as Abraham, then of necessity must Haran beget her when he had lived but nine years, which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Iscah was Sarah, Rab. Solomon affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signification, and names of principality. Again; to what end was the word Iscah, or Iishcah, inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant

[x] Gen. xii.

thereby? for to speak of any thing superfluous it is not used in God's books; and if Iscah had not belonged to the story, it had been but an idle name to no purpose remembered.

Now if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirm) that Moses had no respect of Nachor and Haran, who were notwithstanding the parents of Bethuel and Rebecca, the mother of Israel and of Christ; what regard then had Moses of Iscah in this place, were she not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name, of whom there is nothing else, first or last?

The age also of Lot disproveth the eldership of Abraham; for Lot was called an old man when Abraham was but eighty-three years; and if Lot were of a greater age than Abraham, and Haran were father to Lot, Sarah, and Milcah, Abraham marrying one of Haran's daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarah also being within ten years as old as Abraham; it may appear to every reasonable man, (not obstinate and prejudicate,) that Haran was the eldest son of Terah, and not Abraham; who also died first, and before his father left Ur in Chaldæa. Also Lyra reasoneth against the opinion of Abraham's eldership, upon the same place of Genesis; drawing argument from the age of Sarah, who was but ten years younger than Abraham himself. Lyra's words are these: *Si igitur Haran fuit junior ipso Abraham, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram: imo nec octo*, &c. and afterwards, *et ideo melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimo natus de tribus filiis Thare, tamen nominatur primo, propter ejus dignitatem, et quia ponendus erat caput stirpis et generationis sequentis, et quia primo facta est ei repromissio expressa de Christo, sicut supra dictum est de Sem*, &c. "If there-"fore," saith Lyra, "Haran was younger than Abraham "himself, it followeth that he was not ten years old when "he begat Sarah; and therefore it seemeth better to be "said, that Abraham was the last born of the three sons of "Thare, nevertheless he is named first for his dignity, both "because he was to be ordained head of the stock and ge-

" neration following, and because the promise of Christ was " first made unto him, as before it is said of Sem."

SECT. VII.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the authors on both sides; with an admonition that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more unprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the scriptures, with nature, time, and reason, that Haran was the eldest son of Terah, and not Abraham; and that Abraham was born in the 130th year of Terah's life, and not in the seventieth year. For Abraham departing Charran after [y] Terah died, according to St. Stephen, and that journey by Abraham performed when he was [z] seventy-five years old, these two numbers added make 205 years, the full age of Terah; seeing that when Terah died, then Abraham entered Canaan. For myself, I have no other end herein, than to manifest the truth of the world's story; I reverence the judgments of the fathers, but I know they were mistaken in particulars. St. Augustine was doubtful, and could not determine this controversy. For whatsoever is borrowed from him out of his sixteenth book De Civitate Dei, c. 15. the same may be answered out of himself in his twenty-fifth question upon Genesis. But St. Augustine herein followed Josephus and Isidore; and Beda followed St. Augustine. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanity, that the Hebrews and Josephus sought to make Abraham the first-born; as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did Josephus, together with Nicholas Damascenus, (thinking thereby to glorify the Jewish nation,) make Abraham a king, entitling Sarah by the name of queen Sarah; and said that Abraham was followed with 318 captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him: *trecentos et octodecim præfectos habuit; quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that Pharaoh invading him with a great army, took from him his wife Sarah. Such fables argue that Josephus is not to be believed, but with discreet reservations.

[y] Acts vii. 4. [z] Gen. xii. 4.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292 years from the flood to Abraham, is upheld by many of the Hebrews. But how should we value the opinion of such chronologers, as take Amraphel for Nimrod? Surely, if their judgment in such matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in setting down the succession of the Persian kings, under whom they lived, whose history was not so far remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet grossly have they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the Roman religion are also generally on the same side; it being a thing usual among them, to maintain whatsoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwise, of the more ancient Theodoret, and some following him; of later times Beroaldus, Codoman, Peucer, Calvin, Junius, Beza, Broughton, Doct. Gibbons, and Moore, with divers of the protestants, hold Abraham to have been born in the 130th year of his father Terah. From these, (as in a case not concerning any point in religion,) divers of the same religion, and those nevertheless good authors, as Bucholcerus, Chytræus, Functius, and others, are very averse herein, especially Josephus Scaliger with his Sethus Calvisius, proclaiming Beroaldus an arch-heretic in chronology, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise, Augustinus Torniellus, a priest of the congregation of St. Paul, a judicious, diligent, and free writer, whose annals are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion which I have already delivered; not alleging Beroaldus, nor any protestant writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thanks to heretics. For myself, I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the Romish religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this large account of times, because many notable men of the protestant writers have approved it; but for the truth itself. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons and testimonies of scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it

is apparent to all men of judgment, that the best approved historians, divine and profane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the stories and forepast actions of the world; and not the truth of histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to ourselves, which of these two accounts give the best reputation to the story of the scriptures; teaching the world's new plantation, and the continuance of God's church; either that of Josephus, and those which follow him, who make but 292 years, or thereabouts, between the flood and birth of Abraham; or this other account, which makes 352 years between the one and the other; the one taking Abraham to be the first-born of Thare, in the seventieth year of his life; the other a younger son of Thare, and born when he had lived 130 years. And if we look over all, and do not hastily satisfy our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated do slothfully and drowsily sit down, we shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the Septuagint, who, according to some editions, make it above 1072 years between the flood and Abraham's birth, than to take away any part of those 352 years given. For if we advisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in Abraham's time, yea, before Abraham was born, we shall find that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over-deeply between Abraham and the flood; because in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole story might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimony of the scripture supreme, so as no objection can approach it; and that we did not follow withal this precept of St. Augustine, that wheresoever any one place in the scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation misunderstood. For in Abraham's time, all the then known parts of the world were peopled; all regions and countries had their kings. Egypt had many magnificent cities; and so had Palestina, and all the bordering countries; yea, all that part of the world besides, as far as India; and those not

built with sticks, but of hewn stones, and defended with walls and rampiers; which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving also strength thereby to common cavillers, and to those men's apish brains, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities and monsters in the story of the world and mankind.

SECT. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Assyrians, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the story of Abraham.

IN this sort therefore, for the reasons before alleged, I conclude, that from the general flood to the birth of [a] Abraham 352 years were consumed; and taking the Assyrian history with us, the same number of years were spent from the flood to the forty-third year of Ninus; in which forty-third year of Ninus Abraham was born; which happened in the year of the world 2009.

Now of this time of 352 years, we must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into Shinar, as to those that stayed in the east, to wit, thirty years to Chus, ere he begat Seba; of which though the scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For Eber begat Peleg at thirty-four, Peleg Regu at thirty, Regu Serug at thirty-two. Now after Seba, Chus begat Havila, Sabta, Raama, and Sabtecha; and Raama begat Sheba and Dedan before Nimrod was born, as it appeareth Gen. x. which [b] St. Augustine approveth. Giving then thirty years more to Raama ere he begat Sheba, and five years to the five elder brothers of Nimrod, it may be gathered that sixty-five years were consumed ere Nimrod himself was born; and that Raama

[a] An. mundi 2008. dil. 352. natus Abraham. Euseb. August. de Civitate Dei, l. 16. c. 17.

[b] Aug. de Civitate Dei.

had that age ere any of his sons were begotten, it may be gathered by example and comparison; for [c] Peleg, the fourth from Noah, as Raama was, begat Regu in the same year of his life.

Let us then allow sixty years more after the birth of Nimrod for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build Babel; for sure we are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle; because it displeased God. These two numbers of sixty-five and sixty make 125; the rest of the time of 131 (in which year they arrived in Shinar, whereof there were six years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the east; because they were pestered with women, children, and cattle; and, as some ancient writers have conceived, and Becanus of later times, they kept always the mountains' sides, for fear of a second flood. Now if we take this number of 131 out of 352, there remains 221, of which number [d] Berosus bestoweth sixty-five on Belus, and forty-two on Ninus, before Abraham born, both which St. Augustine approveth; which two numbers taken again out of 221, there remaineth 114 years of the 352, from the flood to Abraham's birth; which number of 114 necessity bestoweth on Nimrod.

And if it be objected that this time given to Nimrod is over-long, sure if we compare the age of Nimrod with the rest of the same descent from Noah, it will rather appear over-short. For Nimrod, by this account, lived in all but 179 years, whereof he reigned 112; whereas Sale, who was the son of Arphaxad the son of Sem, lived 433 years; and of the same age of the world was Nimrod, the son of Chus, the son of Cham.

Now after Abraham was born,

Ninus reigned nine years; which, added to forty-three, make fifty-two.

Ninus dieth, and leaveth Semiramis his successor.

Semiramis governed the empire of Babylonia and Assy-

[c] Gen. xi. 18.

[d] An. a salute humani generis ab aquis centesimo primo cœpit regnum Babylonicum sub nostro Saturno patre Jovis Beli, qui imperavit annis 65. Berosus.

ria forty-two years, and died in the fifty-second year [e] complete of Abraham's life.

Ninias, or Zameis, succeeded Semiramis, and ruled thirty-eight years, in the second year of whose reign Abraham left Mesopotamia.

When Abraham was eighty-five years old, he rescued his nephew Lot, and overthrew by surprise Amraphel king of Shinar, or Babylonia. Ninias reigned thirty-eight years, and Abraham came into Canaan but twenty-three years after Semiramis died; which was the seventy-fifth year of his age: so that Amraphel may seem to have been this Ninias the son of Ninus, and Semiramis, whose twenty-third year, as aforesaid, being the seventy-fifth year of Abraham, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the eighty-fifth year of Abraham, and the thirty-third year of his own reign; after which he reigned five years, which make in all thirty-eight. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this Amraphel could not be Ninias, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the Assyrian kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set them down, according to the times noted by Moses, in the story of Abraham, it is most certain; unless we will either derogate from the truth of Moses's computation, which were impiety; or account the whole history of Ninus and Semiramis to be a fiction; which were to condemn all ancient historians for fablers.

SECT. IX.

That Amraphel, one of the four kings whom Abraham overthrew, Gen. xiv. *may probably be thought to have been Ninias the son of Ninus.*

AND now touching this Amraphel, whom Moses makes king of Shinar or Babylonia, in the eighty-fifth year of Abraham's life, that is, in the thirty-third year of the reign of Ninias Zameis the king of the Assyrians, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, it is hard to affirm what he was, and

[e] Of the world 2017. Of the flood 761. 2059. mundi, 403. a dil. 2083. 427. 2093. 437.

how he could be at this time king of Babylonia; Ninias Zameis then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth itself as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this Ninias, or Zameis, was no other than our Amraphel; who invaded Trachonitis, or Basan, and overthrew those five kings of Pentapolis, or the valley of Siddim. For the scriptures tell us, that Amraphel was king of Shinar, which is Babylonia; and the times before accounted make him to be the successor of Ninus and Semiramis; and it falleth out with the eighty-fifth year of Abraham's life, wherein he rescued Lot, slew Chedorlaomer, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this Amraphel was not at this time the greatest monarch; for Chedorlaomer commanded in chief, though Amraphel be first named by Moses in the first verse of the 14th chapter of Genesis. For the kings of the valley of Siddim, or of Pentapolis, or of the five cities, were the vassals of Chedorlaomer, and not of Amraphel; as it is written, [f] *Twelve years were they subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the thirteenth year they rebelled. And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him;* and therefore was Chedorlaomer the principal in this enterprise, who was then king of Elam, which is Persia: now Persia being seated over Tigris, and to the east of Amraphel's country; and the other two kings, which were companions with Amraphel, being seated to the west of Shinar, or Babylonia; Amraphel, who held Babylonia itself, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large dominion. For had Amraphel been so great a prince as profane historians make Ninus or Semiramis whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three other kings for this expedition. But though Chedorlaomer were the first and greatest of those four kings, (as it is manifest that he was; for these little kings of Sodom, Gomorrha, &c. were his vassals, and not Amraphel's,) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this Amraphel might be Ninias. For it may be, that the great and potent empire of Assyria had now (as we shall

[f] Gen. xiv. 4, 5.

shew more plainly in that which followeth) received a downright fall at the time of this war; though not long before, it commanded all the kingdoms between India and the Phœnician sea; to wit, in the times of Ninus and Semiramis.

SECT. X.

Of Arioch another of the four kings; and that Ellas, whereof he is said to have been king, lies between Cœlesyria and Arabia Petræa.

NOW the two other kings joined with Amraphel and Chedorlaomer, were Arioch and Tidal; the one king of Ellassar, the other of the nations. For Ellassar, Aquila and Jerome write Pontus; so Tostatus thinketh that it should be Hellespont, which opinion Pererius favoureth. But this is only to defend the Latin translation. For as Pontus, so is Hellespont far distant, and out of the way to send any armies into Arabia Petræa, or into Idumæa, which countries these four kings chiefly invaded; besides that, it is certain, that the Assyrians (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in Asia the Less. For at such time as the Assyrians feared the invasion of the Medes and Persians, they sent not into Asia the Less as commanders, but used all the art they had to invite [g] Crœsus to their assistance; persuading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himself, and the other kings of those parts, than the success of the Medes against the Assyrians. But examine the enterprise what it was. [h] *These kings*, saith the text, *made war with Bera king of Sodom, Birsha king of Gomorrha, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemebar king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela, which is Zoar.* All which five kings had not so much ground as Middlesex; being such a kind of reguli, as Joshua found in the land long after; namely, lords of cities and small territories adjoining, of which Canaan had thirty-three all slain or hanged by Joshua. Neither can the other countries, which in the text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power; and therefore to call in kings from Pontus or Hellespont had manifested a great

[g] Xenophon. [h] Gen. xiv. 2.

impotence and weakness in the kings of Babylon and Persia.

And though it be alleged for an example, that divers kings far off came to assist Pompey against Cæsar; yet these same examples, without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatness of these petty kings, or of the other countries; but the eyes of the world were fixed on Cæsar, and his undertakings and intents were to all other princes no less doubtful than fearful: but the whole country, by these four kings mastered in their passage, was afterwards given to the half tribe of Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben; a narrow valley of ground lying between Jordan and the mountains of Seir, enclosed by the river of Arnon on the south side, and by Libanus on the north, consisting of the two small provinces of Trachonitis or Basan, and the region of the Moabites; a conquest far unvaluable, and little answering to the power of the Assyrian empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of Ninus and Semiramis, who subjected all the great kings of that part of the world, without the assistance of any of the kings of Hellespont, or any other part of Asia the Less. But as the Vulgar and Aquila convert Ellassar by Pontus, so Symmachus makes Arioch a king of the Scythians, a king indeed, as far fetched to join with the Assyrians in this war, as the world had any at that time. The Septuagint do not change the word of Ellassar at all, but as they keep the word Ararat, on the mountains whereof the ark did rest, so do they in this place retain the Hebrew word Ellassar, being doubtful to give it a wrong interpretation. And Pererius himself remembereth other opinions far more probable than this of Pontus or Hellespont; yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the Latin translation hath it otherwise. For Stephanus de Urbibus, a Grecian cosmographer, findeth the city of Ellas in the border of Cœlesyria. And St. Jerome calleth Ellas the city of Arioch, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by Stephanus in Cœlesyria, yet it standeth on the border of Arabia,

of which Arioch was king; who formerly joined with Ninus in all his conquests, being of the same family, and descended from Cham and Chus; after whom the name of Arius was by the Hebrews written Arioch, and afterwards again Aretas, as in the [i] Maccabees; the kings of Arabia holding that name even to the time of [k] St. Paul, who was sought to be betrayed by the lieutenant of Aretas, commanding in Damascus. They were princes for the most part confederate and depending upon the Assyrian empire. It is true, that we find in Daniel ii. that in the time of Nabuchodonosor, one Arioch was general of his army, and the principal commander under him, who was a king of kings; which makes it plain, that Arioch here spoken of, the son of that Arioch confederate of Ninus, was no king of Pontus, nor of Scythia; regions far removed from the Assyrians and Babylonians. The name also of Arioch, who commanded under Nabuchodonosor, is mentioned in Judith by the name of king of the Elymeans, who are a nation of Persians bordering Assyria, according to Stephanus, though Pliny sets it between the sea-coast and Media; and if any brother of the Arabian kings, or other of that house, (known by the name of Arius, Arioch, Areta, or Aretas,) had the government of that Persian province called Elymais, (as it seemeth they had by the places of Daniel and Judith,) yet the same was in Nabuchodonosor's time. But this Arioch here spoken of may with more reason be taken for the king of Arabia, the son of Arius, the confederate of Ninus, whose sons held league as their fathers did, being the next bordering prince of all on that side towards the west to Babylonia and Chaldæa, and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own house and blood; which [l] D. Siculus also confirmeth.

SECT. XI.

Of Tidal, another of the four kings.

THE fourth king by Abraham overthrown was Tidal, king of the nations. The Hebrew writes it Gojim, which

[i] 2 Macc. v. 2. [k] 2 Cor. xi. 32. [l] Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1.

Vatablus takes to be a proper name; Lyra, of mixed people; Calvin, of runagates without habitation; Pererius out of Strabo finds that Galilæa was inhabited by divers nations, which were a mixed people; namely, of Egyptians, Arabians, and Phœnicians: [m] *Nam tales sunt qui Galilæam habitant;* "Such are the inhabitants of Galilæe," saith Strabo; and therefore was Tidal called king of these nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authority of Strabo is nothing in this question. For Galilæa was not peopled at this time as it was in the time of Strabo. For when Abraham came into Canaan, the [n] Canaanite was then in the land, howsoever they might be afterwards mixed; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdoms adjoining to Phœnicia and Palestina; as Palmyrena, Batanea, Laodicene, Apamena, Chalcedice, Cassiotis, Chalibonitis; and all these do also join themselves to Mesopotamia on the north, and to Arabia on the east. And that these nations gathered themselves together under Tidal, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

SECT. XII.

That Chedorlaomer, the chief of the four kings, was not of Assyria, but of Persia; and that the Assyrian empire at this time was much impaired.

LASTLY, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian emperor, and that Amraphel was but a satrape, viceroy, or provincial governor of Babylonia, and that the other kings named were such also, I cannot agree with Pererius in this. For Moses was too well acquainted with the names of Assur and Shinar, to call the Assyrian a king of Elam, those kings being in the scriptures evermore called by the name of Chaldæa, Shinar, Babylonia, or Assyria, but never by Elam; and Chedorlaomer, or Kedarlaomer, was so called of Kidor, from Cidarim, which in the Hebrew signifieth *regale;* for so Q. Curtius calleth the garment which the Persian kings wear on their heads.

Neither do I believe that the Assyrian or Babylonian em-

[m] Strab. l. 16. fol. 523. [n] Gen. xii. 6.

pire stood in any greatness at the time of this invasion; and my reasons are these: first, Example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last: Alexander became lord of all Asia on this side of Indus, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to overlook what itself had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual, for his empire died at once with himself; all whose chief commanders became kings after him. Tamerlane conquered Asia and India with a storm-like and terrible success; but to prevalent fury God hath adjoined a short life; and whatsoever things nature herself worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before him.

Ninus being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour princes, and became victorious over them; a man violent, insolent, and cruel. Semiramis taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious than her paramour, enlarged the Babylonian empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her son having changed nature and condition with his mother, proved no less feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual smart, put the patient in mind how to cure the one and revenge the other; so those kings adjoining (whose subjection and calamities incident were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a successor. For *in regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit;* "This king shined lit-"tle," saith Nauclerus of Ninias, "in the Babylonian king-"dom." And likely it is, that the necks of mortal men having been never before galled with the yoke of foreign dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery; no long descent having as yet invested the Assyrian with a right, nor any other title being for him to be pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate son of a tyrannous and hated father could very ill hold so many great princes and

nations his vassals, with a power less mastering, and a mind less industrious than his father and mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his mother to reign forty-two years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to man's estate, witnessed thereby to the world, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

These considerations being joined to the story of Amraphel, delivered by Moses, by which we find that Amraphel king of Shinar was rather an inferior to the king of Persia, than either his superior or equal, make it seem probable, that the empire of Ninus and Semiramis was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to Babylonia.

For conclusion I will add these two arguments confirming the former: first, That at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travel upon Abraham, from Ur in Chaldæa to Charran, and then to Canaan, a passage of 700 miles, or little less, with women, children, and carriages; the countries through which he wandered were then settled and in peace. For it was in the twenty-third year of Ninias, when Abraham, obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand; in which time of twenty-three years after the death of Semiramis, the neighbour princes had recovered their liberty and former estates. For [o] Semiramis's army of four millions, with herself, utterly consumed in India, and all her arms and engines of war at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest souls, and weakest hearted creatures of the world, to repurchase their former liberty.

Secondly, It is affirmed by the best and ancientest historians, that Arius the son of Ninias, or Amraphel, invaded the Bactrians and Caspians, and again subjected them; which needed not, if they had not been revolted from Ninias, after Ninus's death. And as Arioch recovered one part, so did Baleus or Balaneus, otherwise Xerxes, reduce the rest

[o] Strabo, l. 15.

revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said, that he conquered from Egypt to India, and therefore was called Xerxes, *id est, victor et triumphator*, "a conqueror "and triumpher;" which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madness, had not those countries freed themselves from the Babylonian subjection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the reconquest of Arius and Xerxes, both which lived after Ninus and Ninias, we may as well think the rest of Ninus and Semiramis to be but feigned; but if we grant this reconquest, then is it true that while Ninias or Amraphel ruled, the Assyrian empire was torn asunder, according to that which hath been gathered out of Moses, as before remembered.

SECT. XIII.

That it is not improbable that the four kings had no dominion in the countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their colonies planted themselves, and so retained the names of the countries whence they came; which if it be so, we need not say that Amraphel was Ninias, nor trouble ourselves with many other difficulties.

THE consent of all writers, whose works have come to my perusal, agreeing as they do, that these four kings, Amraphel of Shinar, Chedorlaomer of Elam, and their fellows, were lords of those regions, whereunto they are or seem entitled, doth almost enforce us to think, that the history must so be understood as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often elsewhere in the scriptures, the names of countries may be set for people of those lands; or if, as Jerome hath it, Chedorlaomer was king of the Elamites, as Tidal was said to be of the nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry regions; then may we otherwise conceive of this history, removing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps have been unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had been a strange conjecture to think that Arioch was drawn to assist the Persian against the Sodomite, as far as from Pontus, where it is very unlikely that Chedorlaomer was known, and almost impossible that the

vale of Siddim should have been once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbability, that Chedorlaomer, if he were king of Persia alone, should pass through so great a part of the world, as the countries of Assyria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Syria, and part of Arabia and Canaan, to subdue those five towns, whose very names how they should come to his ear, being disjoined by so many great nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly conjecture. And if all the countries bordering Persia, together with the Babylonian himself, yea the kingdom of Elassar, and that of Tidal, so far off removed, were become his dependants, what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after Sodom and Gomorrah? and when he should have sought the establishment of his newgotten empire, by rooting out the posterity of Ninus, (as Ninus had dealt by Pharnus of Media, and Zoroaster of Bactria,) than to employ the forces of Amraphel, and those other kings, against five petty towns, leaving Tyrus and Sidon, and the great city of Damasco, with many other places of much importance, and far nearer unto him, unsubdued? Now as these doubts, which may be alleged against the first conquest of the vale of Siddim, are exceeding vehement; so are the objections to be made against his reconquest of these five cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly upon the text itself. For first, what madness had it been in that small province to rebel against so powerful a monarch! Or if it were so, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them; was it not more than madness in them, when his terrible army approached, still to entertain hope of evasion; yea, to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute, and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the nations between Euphrates, yea between themselves and the river of Indus? Likewise on the part of Chedorlaomer we should find no greater wisdom, if he, knowing the weakness of this people, had raised such a world of men against them; whom by any

lieutenant, with small forces, he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little country was not sufficient to countervail one month's charges of so huge an army. How small then must his valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the wasting of that valley, wherein he left the cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the country, although he had broken their army in the field! Now the scriptures do not of this invasion (supposed so great) make any fearful matter; but compose the two armies as equally matched, saying they were four kings against five; yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find in Genesis xiv. 17. that Abraham slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no history makes mention; neither will the reign of Ninias, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he should have died so soon; neither would histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in Syria. Whereby it appears, that these four kings were not the same that they are commonly thought; nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title, lords and commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a colony, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the usual manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that Chedorlaomer leading a troop of Persians, Amraphel some people out of Shinar, and Tidal others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the country which lay about them to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first book of Thucydides, with the manner of discoveries, conquests, and plantations, in the infancy of Greece, or the manner of the Saracens invading Africa and Spain, with almost as many kings as several armies; or the proceedings of the Spaniards in their new discoveries, passages, and conquests in the West Indies; may

easily perceive, that it was neither unusual for the leaders of colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted, nor to make alliances together, and break them again; disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That Amraphel and his associates were such manner of commanders, it may seem the more likely, by the slothful quality of Ninias then reigning in Assyria; whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to such undertaking spirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accustomed in the reign of Semiramis, rather to seek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded; whilst others, more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the consent of the whole stream of writers upon this place make this conjecture disagreeable to the text, to the authority whereof all human reason must subscribe, then we may hold ourselves to the former conjecture, that Amraphel was Ninias; and that the power of his ancestors being by his sloth decayed, he might well be inferior to the Persian Chedorlaomer: or if this do not satisfy, we may say that Amraphel was an under king or satrape of Shinar, under Ninias, who may be supposed to have had his imperial seat in his father's city Nineveh, and to have preferred it before Shinar and Babylon, the city of his mother, whom he hated as an usurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any man's salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might err; then can I think that the opinion, that these four kings were leaders of colonies, sent out of the countries named in the text, and not kings of the countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times and to the scripture. And hereto add, that Chedorlaomer seems rather called a Persian king, than king of Persia; and that Arioch (whose kingdom undoubtedly was between Syria and Arabia) having been a man of action, or being a worthy man's son, was very well pleased to give passage and assistance to these captains or petty kings. These and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which

either may stand without them, or, if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it; especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the reader's pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he find any that shall seem better than these. But of what countries or people soever these four were kings, this expedition is the only public action that we know of performed by Abraham. And as for other things belonging to his story, and of his sons, and of his nephews Esau and Jacob, as they are registered by Moses, because it is not our purpose neither to stand upon things generally known to all Christians, nor to repeat what hath been elsewhere already spoken, nor to prevent ourselves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, we pass them here in silence. And because in this story of Abraham and his posterity there is much mention of Egypt, by which it appears, that even in the time of Abraham it was a settled and flourishing kingdom, it will not be amiss, in the next place, to speak somewhat of the antiquities and first kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the kings of Egypt from the first peopling of it after the flood, to the time of the delivery of the Israelites from thence.

SECT. I.

A brief of the names and times of the first kings of Egypt; with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.

SOON after the confusion at Babel, as it seems, Cham, with many of his issue and followers, (having doubtless known the fertility of Egypt before the flood,) came thither, and took possession of the country; in which they built many cities, and began the kingdom one hundred and ninety-one years after the deluge. The ancient governors

of this kingdom, till such time as Israel departed Egypt, are shewn in the table following.

An. Mundi.	An. Dil.	
1847	191	Cham.
2008	352	Osiris.
2269	613	Typhon.
		Hercules.
2276	620	Orus.
2391	735	Sesostris the Great.
2424	768	Sesostris the Blind.
2438	782	Busiris, or Orus, the second.
2476	820	Acenchere, or Thermutis, or Meris.
2488	832	Rathoris, or Athoris.
2497	841	Chencres, drowned in the Red sea.

The table, and especially the chronology, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obscurity manifest and resistless truth cannot be found. For St. Augustine, a man of exceeding great judgment and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the books of Varro, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the Egyptian kings; which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the Sicyonians, whom he remembereth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the Egyptian story was the ambition of the priests; who, to magnify their antiquities, filled the records, which were in their hands, with many leasings; and recounted unto strangers the names of many kings that never reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that the magnificent works and royal buildings in Egypt, such as are never found but in states that have greatly flourished, witness that their princes were of marvellous greatness, and that the reports of the priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the Egyptian history was the too much credulity of some good authors, who, believing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry Egyptians, and

publishing in their own name such as pleased them best, have confirmed them, and as it were enforced them upon us by their authority. A third and general cause of more than Egyptian darkness in all ancient histories is the edition of many authors by John Annius, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned I may add mine) I think thus; that Annius having seen some fragments of those writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited as an avoucher of true histories, where approved writers confirm him, but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass, that the account of authors, either in the chronology or genealogy of the Egyptian kings, runs three altogether different ways. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow Eusebius; many late writers follow the edition of Annius's authors; the profane histories follow Herodotus, Diodorus, and such others.

SECT. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that Cham's reign in Egpyt began in the year after the flood 191.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient kings, about whom is most controversy, the best mean is by help of the dynasties, of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the dynasties, besides the authority of approved authors, hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the histories of the Assyrians, Trojans, Italians, and others, &c. The beginning of the 16th dynasty is joined by general consent with the 43d year of Ninus, in which Abraham was born. The twelve first dynasties lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve, which were called the greater gods; so that all the years of their continuance were eighty-four. The thirteenth dynasty endured fourteen years; the fourteenth, twenty-six; the fifteenth, thirty-seven. These three last are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first dynasties lasted 161 years. As I do not therefore believe that

the continuance of these dynasties was such as hath been mentioned, because Annius in such wise limits out their time; so I cannot reject the account upon this only reason, that Annius hath it so; considering that both hitherto it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas Eusebius placeth the beginning of the sixteenth dynasty in the year of Abraham's birth, as aforesaid, the reckoning is easily cast; by which the sum of 161 years, which according to our account were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the sum of 352 years, which were between the flood and Abraham's birth, shew that the beginning of the first dynasty, which was the beginning of Cham's reign in Egypt, was in the year 191; as also by other probabilities the same may appear. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into Shinar arrived at Babel *anno a diluvio* 131. In building the tower were consumed forty years, as Glycas recordeth; whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That Cham was long in passing with his company, their wives, children, cattle, and substance, through all Syria, then desolate and full of bogs, forests, and briers, (which the deluge and want of culture in one hundred and seventy-one years had brought upon it,) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in Egypt, we allow twenty years; and these sums being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty-one years after the flood, before they arrived at Babel, forty years for their stay there, and twenty for Cham's passage into Egypt and settling there, make up the sum of one hundred and ninety-one years; at which time we said that Cham began his reign in Egypt, in the beginning of the first dynasty. And to this sum of 191 years, if we add the 161 years of the fifteen first dynasties, as they are numbered in common account, we shall fall right with the year of Abraham's birth, which was *an. dil.* 352. And hereto, omitting many other reasons which might be brought to prove that these first dynasties must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole

sum of their several times above 161 years; let it suffice, that had they lasted longer, then either must Egypt have been peopled as soon as Babel after the flood, or the dynasties, as Mercator thinks, must have been before the flood. That the arrival at Babel was many years before the plantation of Egypt, after the flood, enough hath been said to prove; and that the dynasties were not before the flood, the number of the long-lived generations between Adam and the flood, which was less than the number of the dynasties, may sufficiently witness. Or if we will think that one life might, perhaps, be divided into many dynasties, then may this have been as well after the flood as before; considering that the sons of Noah did not in every country erect such form of policy as had been used in the same ere the deluge, but such as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the conductor, together with many other circumstances, did induce or enforce them to.

SECT. III.

That these dynasties were not divers families of kings, but rather successions of regents, ofttimes many under one king.

THE short continuance of the dynasties doth shew that they were not several races of kings, as the vaunting Egyptians were wont to style them. What they were, it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more easy to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, that it was the manner of the Egyptian kings to put the government of the country into the hands of some trusty counsellor, only reserving the sovereignty to themselves, as the old kings of France were wont to the masters of the palace, and as the Turk doth to the chief vizier. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the dynasties, whereof many are under Cham, and more than one under Osiris, or Mizraim; and must therefore have been successions, not of kings, but rather of counsellors and regents. Secondly, by custom of such princes, borderers to Egypt, as are mentioned in the scriptures; of whom Abi-

melech the Philistine, in his dealing with Abraham and Isaac about confederation, did nothing without Phicol, captain of his host; though in taking Abraham's wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleasure. Likewise of Abimelech the son of Gideon it was said, *Is not he the son of Jerubbaal, and Zebul his officer?* Also Ishbosheth the son of Saul feared Abner the captain of the host. Yea, David himself hating Joab for his cruelty, did not punish him in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of Hadad the Edomite, living then in Egypt. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of Cham, who was lewd, as appears by the scriptures; therefore likely, both for his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the burden of government upon others; and upon jealousy, the companion of unworthiness, to have changed his lieutenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of Joseph by Pharaoh. For Pharaoh said to Joseph, *Only in the king's throne will I be above thee; behold I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.* [p] William, archbishop of Tyre, who flourished about the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred eighty, affirms, that the like or very same form of government by viceroys was in his time practised in Egypt, having there been in use, as he believed, ever since the time of Joseph. He plainly shews, that the soldans of Egypt were not lords of the country, however they have been so deemed; but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the duty of subjects unto the caliph; who residing in a most magnificent palace in Cairo, did commit the charge, not only of civil government, but the power of making war and peace, with the whole office and authority royal into the soldan's hands. He that shall read in [q] William of Tyre the state of the caliph, or Mulene Elhadech, with the form of his court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient Pharaoh, ruling by a lieutenant, as great in authority as Joseph was, though far inferior in wisdom.

To think that many names of such regents or lieutenants

[p] William Tyr. de Bell. sacro, l. 19. c. 17, 18, 19, et 20. [q] Lib. 19, 20.

as Joseph was, have crept into the list of the Egyptian kings, were no strange imagination: for Joseph's brethren called him, [r] *the man, that is lord of the land, and the lord of the country:* besides, it is not unlikely that the vain-glorious Egyptian priests would as easily report him a king to posterity, as ignorant men and strangers deem him such, under whose hand all despatches of importance and royal managing of the state had passed, whilst that the king himself intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kind, the example already cited of Joseph's brethren doth sufficiently witness. The reports of priests do appear in Diodorus and Herodotus, each of whom, citing their relations as good authority, say; Diodorus, that Sesostris was the ninetieth king after Menas; Herodotus, that he was the 332d after Menas; which could not have been, if Menas had been Adam. Therefore we may well conclude, that the dynasties were not so many races of kings, but successions of regents, appointed by the kings of so many sundry lineages or sorts of men. Now by whatsoever means a dynasty or regency continued, whether in one family, as being made an hereditary office, or in one order of men, as held by faction; sure it is, that it was the king's gift and free choice that gave the office. But the crown royal always passed by descent, and not by election; which (beside consent of authors) the scriptures also prove. For whereas Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh, if the crown had passed by election, then should Pharaoh's children hereby either have been enthralled amongst the rest of the people to the next successor; or, enjoying their father's land, though not his estate, have been more mighty than the king; as landlords of all Egypt, and the king himself their tenant. Likewise we find in Exod. xii. that *God smote the first-born of Pharaoh, that was to sit on his throne:* and in Isaiah it is said of Pharaoh, [s] *I am the son of the ancient king.*

[r] Gen. xlii. 30. and 33. [s] Isa. xix. 11.

SECT. IV.

Of Cham, and his son Mizraim, or Osiris.

THAT the succession of kings began and continued in such wise as the table hath shewed from Cham to Chencres, now it followeth to shew. Egypt is called in the scripture [t] *the land of Ham.* That this name is not given to it because the posterity of Cham did reign there, but for that himself did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I think it is nowhere found, that the countries of Cush, Put, or Canaan, as well as Egypt, were called the land of Ham. Further, it is found in [u] Diodorus Siculus, that Osiris calleth himself the eldest son of Cham, saying, *Mihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium junior;* also, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro et generoso ortum;* which must needs be understood of Cham; for this Saturnus Egyptius was Cham; as it is said, that on the monument of Ninus was an inscription, wherein Cham was called Saturnus Ægyptius. Likewise the temple of Hammon, not far from Egypt, doth testify, that Ham resided in those parts; and St Jerome, in Quæstionibus Hebraicis, saith, that the Egyptians themselves did in his days call their country Ham; as in four several places in the Psalms this country is called the land of Cham. And Ortelius, noting out of Plutarch in Osiride, that in the sacrifices of the Egyptians this country of Egypt was called Chemia, expounds it for Chamia: *Ut puto,* saith he, *a Chamo Noes filio;* to which also he addeth out of Isidore, *Ægyptum usque hodie Ægyptiorum lingua Kam vocari;* "That Egypt "unto this day, in the tongue of the Egyptians, is called "Kam." For the beginning and continuance of Cham's reign, the same reasons may suffice to be alleged, which I have already given in proof of the time spent in the fifteen first dynasties: neither is it strange that the reign of Cham should last so long as 161 years, considering that Sem lived 600; Arphachshad and Shelah each above 400. But strange it had been, if one Saltis, created by Manetho, had in those

[t] Psalm lxxviii. 51. cv. 23. 27. cvi. 22. [u] Diod. Sic. l. 1.

long-lived generations reigned there nineteen years, and with Bæon, Apachnas, Apochis, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of Osiris, Orus, and Sesostris. Reineccius, in Histor. Julia, placeth Mizraim next, otherwise called Osiris, according to Diodorus, who saith he was the son of Hammon: Krentzhemius saith, that Mizraim and Osiris are words of near affinity and sound in the Hebrew tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that Mizraim, the son of Cham, was lord of Egypt, and Reineccius, citing good authority in this case, affirmeth, that Egypt is now called by the naturals in their own language Mezre. Neither do I see cause of doubt whether Osiris were the same with Mizraim. It is more necessary, and hard to shew manifestly, how long Mizraim or Osiris reigned. For whereas the year of his death is nowhere precisely set down, we must be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by Annius's Berosus to have begun his reign at the birth of Abraham, when the dynasty of the Thebæi began, it appeareth, first, by the authority of Eusebius, who avoucheth as much; next by Diodorus, who saith, that he inhabited Thebes; which habitation of Osiris there, that it might be cause of that dynasty, I can well believe; assenting so far to Reineccius, who thinks the dynasties were named only according to the several seats of the kings.

SECT. V.

Of the time when Osiris's reign ended; and that Jacob came into Egypt in the time of Orus the son of Osiris.

THE death of Osiris, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The only conjecture that I know is made thus. Lehabim the son of Mizraim, called Hercules Libyus, made war in Italy to revenge his father's death on the associates of Typhon, in the 41st year of Baleus king of Assyria; before which year he had made many great wars in Egypt, Phœnicia, Phrygia, Crete, Libya, and Spain; and having ended his Egyptian wars, left the kingdom to Orus. Thus far Berosus, or authors following Berosus. That Orus, last

of all the gods, (as they were styled,) held the kingdom of Isis, [x] Diodorus Siculus plainly saith, and Plutarch as much; to which all old histories agree. Krentzhemius hereupon infers, that six years may be allowed to the wars which Hercules made in so many countries, after the Egyptian wars were ended; so should the death of Osiris have been the 34th of Baleus, when himself had reigned 297 years. I think that Krentzhemius was a greater scholar than soldier: for surely in those days, when commerce was not such as now, but all navigation made by coasting, a far longer time would have been required to the subduing of so many countries. An allowance of more time, though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent; which was, doubtless, to find the truth. If, according to his account, the death of Osiris had been the 34th of Baleus, then must Israel have come into Egypt but seven years before the death of Osiris, and have lived there in the reign of Typhon: a thing not easily believed. For it was the same king who advanced Joseph, bade him send for his father, and gave him leave to go into Canaan to the performance of his father's funeral; as may easily be gathered out of the book of Genesis. Whereas therefore the reign of Osiris cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seventh year of Israel's coming into Egypt; we must needs cut off twenty-three years from that number, which Krentzhemius conjectures his reign to have continued; namely, seven which he should have lived after Jacob's coming into Egypt; nine in which Joseph had there flourished ere his father's coming; and other seven in which Typhon and Hercules had reigned after the death of Osiris, yet before Joseph's advancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of Hercules Libyus's wars. For the war which Hercules made in Italy is said to have endured ten years; after which proportion we may well give, not only six years, as Krentzhemius doth, but twenty-three more, to so many wars in so many and so

[x] Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. l. de Iside et Osir.

far distant countries, as are named before; yea, by this proportion we may attribute unto Orus the thirteen years which passed between the time of Joseph's being sold into Egypt, unto his advancement; considering that Putiphar, who bought him, and whose daughter he may seem to have married, continued all that while chief steward unto Pharaoh; a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had happened the whilst in Egypt, as the tyrannous usurpation of Typhon must needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I should confidently say, that Putiphar, for his faithfulness to Orus, the son of Osiris, was by him in the beginning of his reign made his chief steward; at which time buying Joseph, and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into Joseph's hands, than unto any of his Egyptian followers, (many of whom he had found either falsehearted, or weak and unlucky in the troublesome days of Typhon,) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further, and say, that when the saying of Joseph pleased Pharaoh, and all his servants; then Putiphar, priest of On, being chief officer to Pharaoh, did acknowledge in Joseph the ancient graces of God, and his injurious imprisonment, whereupon he gave him his daughter to wife; and being old, resigned his office of chief steward unto him; who afterwards, in regard of Putiphar, did favour the priests, when he bought the lands of all other Egyptians. This might appear to some a tale not unlike to the friarly book of Asenath, Putiphar's daughter; but unto such as consider that God works usually by means, and that Putiphar was the steward of that king under whom Jacob died; it would seem a matter not improbable, had it an author of sufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the wars of Hercules, in which by this reckoning he should have spent forty-two years after he left Egypt, ere he began in Italy, it is a circumstance which (the length of his Italian wars considered, and his former enterprises and achievements proportioned to them) doth not make against us, but for us; or if it were

against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the undisputable truth of scripture do confirm it. Nevertheless I freely grant, that all these proofs are no other than such as may be gathered out of authors not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy text.

SECT. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules Ægyptius, Orus, and the two Sesostres, successively reigning after Misraim; and of divers errors about the former Sesostris.

CONCERNING the reign of Typhon and of Hercules, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. Daniel Angelocrator giveth three years to Typhon, omitting Hercules. But he is so peremptory without proof, as if his own word were sufficient authority in many points very questionable; alleging no witness, but as it were saying, *teste meipso:* yet herein we may think him to speak probably, forasmuch as the learned Krentzhemius affirmeth, that Hercules did very soon undertake his father's revenge, and was not long in performing it; and that leaving Egypt to his brother, he followed other wars, in the same quarrel, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as Krentzhemius doth) out of Berosus, that Hercules reigned after Typhon; yet seeing Aventinus, a follower of Berosus, hath it so, I will also believe it. That in the reign of Typhon and Hercules seven years were spent, howsoever divided between them, I gather out of Krentzhemius only, who placeth the beginning of Orus seven years after the death of Osiris; forgetting to set down his reasons, which, in a matter so probable, I think he wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth ninety years of the eighteenth dynasty to Osiris, Typhon, Hercules, and Orus; it seems that the reign of Orus lasted 115 years. From the death of Orus to the departure of Israel out of Egypt, there passed 122 years by our account; who (according to Beroaldus and others) think that Abraham was

born in the 130th year of Terah, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the flood to the birth of Abraham 352

From that time to the { vocation of Abraham 75 / departure out of Egypt 430

Total, 857

which sum divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of Egypt there do remain (as is aforesaid) only 122 years from the death of Orus; we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed unto Sesostris, or Sesonchosis, who is placed next unto Orus, by authority of the Scholiastes Apollonii, not without good probability. For this great king or conqueror is by many histories recorded to have overrun a great part of Asia; to have built a fleet of ships on the Red sea; and so to have entered into India; likewise with another fleet on the middle-earth seas to have passed into Europe, and subdued many nations. This is he (as Reineccius judgeth) whom Justin, erring in account of his time, calleth Vexoris; for Justin placeth Vexoris in ages before Ninus; whereby it would follow that Sesostris, if he were Vexoris, was more ancient than was Osiris, (otherwise Mizraim,) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of Israel out of Egypt, no one Pharaoh came into the land of Canaan (which lieth in the way from Egypt into Asia) till the father-in-law of Solomon, Pharaoh Vaphres, took Gerar, and gave it to his daughter; after which time Sesac oppressed Rehoboam, and Necho sought passage through the land of Israel, when he made his expedition against the Chaldeans. Of king Vaphres and Necho it is out of question, that neither of them was the great king Sesostris. Of Sesac it is doubted by some, forasmuch as he came into Judæa with a great army. Reineccius propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unless it be sufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himself placeth Sesostris next to Orus, following the Scholiastes Apollonii. But

further answer may be made to shew that they were not one. For as Justin witnesseth, Sesostris, otherwise Vexoris, made war on people far removed, abstaining from his neighbours. Sesac came up purposely against Jerusalem. Sesostris, as Diodorus witnesseth, had but 24,000 horse; Sesac had 60,000; Sesostris had 8020 chariots, Sesac but 1200. Sesostris made his expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name; Sesac, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour Jeroboam, and give him countenance in his new reign, whom he had favoured even against Solomon; therefore Sesostris must needs have reigned whilst Israel abode in Egypt.

Whereas Krentzhemius collecteth out of Herodotus and Diodorus, that one Menas, or Menis, was next to Orus; because those historians affirm, that he reigned next after the gods, it moveth me nothing. For Osiris did succeed those fifteen gods; namely, the twelve greater and three lesser, himself also (as the learned Reineccius noteth) being called Menas: which name, as also Minæus and Menis, were titles of dignity, though mistaken by some as proper names. Krentzhemius doth very probably gather, that Menas was Mercurius Ter-maximus; the Hebrew word *meni* signifying an arithmetician; which name, Ter-maximus, might well be attributed to Osiris, who was a great conqueror, philosopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giving good laws, and teaching profitable arts. In prowess and great undertakings Sesostris was no wit inferior to Osiris. For he sought victory, not for gain, but for honour only; and being well contented that many nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royal disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into Egypt. Soon upon his return he was endangered by a great treason, the house in which he was being by his own brother purposely fired; which nevertheless he is said to have escaped, and to have reigned in all thirty-three years; after which time he chose rather to die than to live, because he fell blind. Both Herodotus and Diodorus affirm, that Sesostris left a son, whose name was Pheron, or Pherones,

who afterwards took the name of Sesostris, but was nothing like to his father in glory, for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindness Herodotus attributes to his assaulting the river Nilus with a javelin; which tale Diodorus having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying, that perhaps he took the disease naturally from his father. How long this man reigned it is no where expressed; yet forasmuch as Orus the second, (otherwise Busiris,) who succeeded him, began fourteen years after that this Sesostris had been king, it must needs be that this reigned fourteen years at least. That Busiris began not until these fourteen years at least were expired, the very account of time, from the first of Busiris to the departure of Israel out of Egypt, plainly shews, being almost generally agreed upon to have been seventy-five years. That none came between Sesostris the second and Busiris, or Orus the second, it stands only upon probabilities; which are these. After Sesostris had reigned somewhile, he fell blind; after certain years he recovered his sight, as is said; which may have been true, but is more like to have been a fable; surely the manner of his recovery, as it is set down, is very fabulous; namely, that by looking upon a woman, or washing his eyes with her water, who had only known her own husband, he got his sight again. As the time of his reign, before his blindness, and when he was well again, (if ever he were,) may have taken up a good part of fourteen years; so his works, which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his reign was not very short. His works are largely set down by Herodotus and Diodorus; a part of which may seem to have been the finishing of that which his father had begun, about the channels and sluices of Nilus; whom I think he rather frighted (as his father had done) with spades and shovels, than with darts and javelins; and by his diligent oversight of that work, was like enough to lose both his eyesight and his people's love, whom his father had very busily employed in excessive labour about it.

SECT. VII.

Of Busiris the first oppressor of the Israelites; and of his successor, queen Thermutis, that took up Moses out of the water.

AND herein (if I may presume to conjecture) Busiris, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him as Jeroboam did with the son of Solomon. For that Busiris himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of Israel in his buildings; if therefore he were employed by the great Sesostris, as Jeroboam was by Solomon, in the oversight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the king by industry; and afterwards with the people, by incensing them against their new king, as Jeroboam did. For what the multitude will endure at one prince's hands, they will not at another's; unless he have either an equal spirit or a surer foundation. If moreover he sought to derive all the pain and labour of public works from the Egyptians to the Israelites, he surely did that which to his own people was very plausible, who (as appears in Exodus i.) were nothing slack in fulfilling the king's cruelty. Now that Orus the second, or Busiris, was the king that first oppressed Israel, and made the edict of drowning the Hebrew children, which, saith Cedrenus, lasted ten months; it is a common opinion of many great and most learned writers, who also think that hereupon grew the fable of Busiris sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, Exodus i. that the king, who knew not Joseph, was a king of a new family. That Busiris was of a new family, Reineccius doth shew; who also thinks him author of the bloody edict. Nevertheless true it is, that Busiris, according to all men's computation, began his reign five years after the birth of Moses; before whose birth it is most manifest that the law was made, and much more, that the persecution began; which Bunting thinks to have lasted eighty-seven years, ere the departure out of Egypt. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindness of Sesostris the second, how great the power of the regents or viceroys in Egypt was, and how great confidence

the kings did put in them; seeing Joseph ruled with such full power, that he bought all Egypt, and all the Egyptians for bread, giving at the same time the best of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing; seeing also that when the Egyptians cried out upon Pharaoh for bread, Pharaoh said to all the Egyptians, *Go to Joseph; what he saith to you, do ye.* If to a stranger born, lately fetched out of prison, a king well able to have governed himself would give such trust and sovereign authority, it is not unlikely that a blind prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good, (such as Joseph was,) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many have done) resign his kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun till the death of Sesostris. But whether Busiris did usurp the kingdom, or protection of the land, by violence; or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title; or whether Busiris were only regent whilst the king lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himself; it might well be said that Pharaoh's daughter took up Moses, and that Pharaoh vexed Israel; seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for us to say, that the blind king, Sesostris the second, oppressed Israel; but forasmuch as it may seem that the wicked tyrant shewed his evil nature even when he first arose, I think it more likely, that Busiris did it, using at first the power of a king, and shortly after the style. Thus of the 122 years which passed between the beginning of Sesostris's reign and the departure of Israel out of Egypt, forty-seven being spent; the seventy-five which remain are to be accounted to Busiris, or Orus the second, and his children. Busiris himself reigned thirty years, according to Eusebius; whom very many judicious authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who took Moses out of the water, is said, by all that I have read, to have reigned twelve years; her name was Thermutis Phareis, or Muthis, according to Cedrenus; Eusebius

calls her Acencris; and out of Artabanus's history, Meris; Josephus calls her both Acenchere and Thermutis. Epiphanius in Panario saith, that she was honoured afterwards of the Egyptians by the name of Thermutis, the daughter of Amenoph, the son of Pharaoh. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken; for the scriptures call her not Pharaoh's son's daughter, but Pharaoh's daughter. Amenophis indeed is placed next before Busiris, or Orus the second, by Eusebius and others; but whether he were a king, or only a regent, I cannot conjecture. For Herodotus, Diodorus, and the ancient historians, name the son of Sesostris, Pheron. Perhaps his name was Pharaoh Amenophis; and his daughter by the Egyptians called rather the niece or grandchild, than the daughter of Pharaoh, because of the glory of Sesostris, and the disreputation of his son. If so, and if that Busiris, or Orus the second, marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was she both daughter, grandchild, and wife unto Pharaoh; and surviving him, queen of the land twelve years. But if she were the daughter of Orus the second, and sister of Athoris, or Rathoris, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

SECT. VIII.

Of the two brethren of queen Thermutis; and what king it was under whom Moses was born; and who it was that perished in the Red sea.

SHE had two brethren; the one was Rathoris, or Athoris, who succeeded her; the other Telegonus, who is only named by Eusebius; but his lineage and offspring described by Reineccius. Rathoris, after his sister's death, reigned nine years; after whom Chencres, thought to be his son, reigned ten, and then perished in the Red sea. During the reign of Chencres, Eusebius saith, that Telegonus begat Epaphus upon Io, of which history elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of Chencres, (whom some call

Acencheres; but all or most do style Θεόμαχος, a fighter against God,) Acherres reigned eight years, and then Cherres fifteen. This descent seems from father to son. In the eleventh year of Cherres it is said by Eusebius, that Epaphus reigning in the lower part of Egypt built Memphis. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely, viz. that Egypt was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the destruction of her king and army in the Red sea; else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his posterity, seems to have taken all from Cherres the grandchild of Chencres. For whereas Armais is said to have reigned four years after Cherres, and Armesis one after Armais, these two kings are by Eusebius and others accounted as one, and his reign said to have been five years. His name is called Armeus, otherwise Danaus, and his pedigree thus described by Reineccius in Historia Julia.

Telegonus.
Epaphus.
Libya, who had
Agenor, Belus, and Busiris.

Ægyptus, or Ramesses, who gave name to the country, having expelled his brother Danaus, reigned and begat Lynceus, married to Hypermnestra.	Danaus, or Armeus, expelled by his brother Ægyptus, after he had reigned five years, became king of Argos in Greece; was father to Hypermnestra.

How it might come to pass that the nephews, sons of Epaphus, should have occupied the kingdom after Cherres, it is hard to say; considering that Epaphus himself is reported by Eusebius to have been born in the time of Chencres. But forasmuch as the history of Epaphus's birth is diversely related by Eusebius, it may suffice that Belus, the father of Danaus and Ægyptus, otherwise called Armeus and Ramesses, was equally distant from Busiris, or Orus the second, with Cherres the grandchild of Chencres. And that the posterity of Telegonus did marry very young, it

appears by the history of these two brethren, Danaus and Ægyptus; of whom the former had fifty daughters, the latter fifty sons; perhaps, or rather questionless, by divers women; yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: howsoever it were, the general consent of writers is, that Armeus, or Danaus, did succeed Cherres; and according to Eusebius, and good authors approving him, reigned five years. Ramesses followed, who reigned sixty-eight years. This Ramesses, or Ægyptus, is that Armesesmiamum, or Armesesmiamus, under whom, in the opinion of Mercator, and of Bunting that follows Mercator, Moses was born; and the cruel edict made of drowning the Hebrew children. The length of his reign seems to me the chief, if not the only ground of Mercator's opinion. For whereas the Lord said to Moses, *Go, return to Egypt: for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*, Exod. iv. 19. Mercator hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same king under whom Moses was born, and under whom he slew the Egyptian at the fortieth year of his age, and fled into the wilderness, and there abode for fear; all which circumstances could agree with none but this Ramesses, who reigned so long; wherefore, desirous rather to hold a true paradox than a common error, he placeth one Alisfragmuthosis (whose name is found in the list of Egyptian kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an age 112 or 113 years more ancient than others left him in; and so continuing the catalogue of his successors from Themosis (whom Eusebius calls Amasis) downwards, with no other variation of the length of each man's reign, than is the difference between Manetho and Eusebius, he finds Moses born under Armesesmiamum, and Israel delivered in the days of his son Amenophis. The very name of Alisfragmuthosis seems to him, with little alteration, to sound like Pharatates, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as a king or a wise man about the time of Isaac. For, saith he, from Alisfragmuthosis to Phragmuthosis, Pharmuthosis, Pharetasis, or Pharatates, the change is not great. Mercator was a man of excellent learning and industry,

and one to whom the world is bound for his many notable works; yet my assent herein is withheld from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that Chencres was the king who was drowned in the Red sea. Secondly, The place, Exod. iv. *all are dead*, &c. may better be understood of Busiris and all his children, than of one king alone. Thirdly, St. Cyril, in his first book against Julian the apostate saith, that Dardanus built Dardania, when Moses was 120 years old, Ramesses, which was this Armesesmiamum, being then king of Egypt. After Ramesses, Amenophis reigned nineteen years, who is thought by Mercator, and peremptorily by Bunting pronounced, to be the king that perished in the Red sea; of which our opinion being already laid open, I think it most expedient to refer the kings ensuing to their own times, (which a chronological table shall lay open,) and here to speak of that great deliverance of Israel out of Egypt; which, for many great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly overpass.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Israel out of Egypt.

SECT. I.

Of the time of Moses's birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt.

TRUE it is that the history itself is generally and well known; yet concerning the time of Moses's birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great works of the Highest, the different opinions are very near as many as the men that have written of that argument.

Lud. Vives, in his Annotations upon St. Augustine, citeth many of their conjectures; as that of Porphyry out of Sanchoniato, that Moses lived in the time of Semiramis; but if he meant the first Semiramis, it was but a fond conceit; for besides that the same is contrary to all stories divine and human; while that Semiramis lived, she com-

manded Syria, and all the parts thereof absolutely; neither were the Ammonites, or Moabites, or Edomites, while she ruled, in *rerum natura*.

A second opinion he remembereth of Appion, taken from Ptolemy, a priest of Mendes, who saith, that Moses was born while Inachus ruled the Argives, and Amesis in Egypt.

The third opinion is taken out of Polemon, in his Greek history, the first book; that Moses was born while Apis the third king ruled Argos.

A fourth is borrowed from Tatianus Assyrius, who, though he cites some authorities that Moses lived after the Trojan war, is himself of opinion, that Moses was far more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he setteth down the testimony of Numenius the philosopher, who took Musæus and Moses to be one; confirming the same out of Artapanus, who confesseth that Moses was called Musæus by the Grecians; and who further delivereth, that he was adopted by Chenephis, or Thermutis, the daughter of Egypt; the same which Eupolemus calleth Meris, others (as Rabanus Maurus) Thermothes. [y]Eusebius also affirmeth, that Eupolemus, in his first book *De bono, Moses vir Deo conjunctissimus*, is called *Musæus Judæorum*. Eusebius, in his Chronology, finds that Moses was born while Amenophis ruled Egypt. The ancient Manethon calls that Pharaoh, which lived at Moses's birth, Thumosis, or Thmosis; the same perchance which Appion the grammarian will have to be Amosis, and elsewhere Amenophis, the father of Sethosis; to whom Lysimachus and Cornelius Tacitus give the name of Bocchoris. To me it seems most probable, that while Saphrus, called also Spherus, or Ipherius, governed Assyria, Orthopolis Sicyonia, and Criasus the Argives, that then (Sesostris the second ruling in Egypt) Moses was born. For if we believe St. Augustine, it was about the end of Cecrops's time that Moses led Israel out of Egypt: [z]*Eduxit Moses ex Ægypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheni-*

[y] Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 3. c. 3. [z] Aug. l. 18. c. 11. de Civit. Dei.

ensium regis; " Moses," saith he, " led the people of God " out of Egypt about the end of Cecrops's time, king of " the Athenians." In this sort therefore is the time of Moses's birth, and of his departure out of Egypt, best proved. St. Augustine affirms, (as before remembered,) that Moses was born, Saphrus governing Assyria; and that he left Egypt about the end of Cecrops's time. Now Saphrus ruled twenty years, his successor Mamelus thirty years, Sparetus after him forty years; in whose fourth year Cecrops began to govern in Attica; Ascatades followed Sparetus, and held the empire forty-one; so as Moses being born while Saphrus ruled Assyria, Orthopolis Sicyonia, and Criasus Argos, (for these three kings lived at once at his birth, saith St. Augustine, as Cecrops did when he departed Egypt,) it will follow that the birth of Moses was in the nineteenth year of the Assyrian Saphrus; for take one year remaining of twenty, (for so long Saphrus reigned,) to which add the thirty years of Mamelus, and the forty years of Sparetus, these make seventy-one, with which there were wasted three years of Cecrops's fifty years; then take nine years out of the reign of Ascatades, who was Sparetus's successor, those nine years added to seventy-one make eighty, at which age Moses left Egypt; and add these nine years to the three years of Cecrops formerly spent, there will remain but four years of Cecrops's fifty; and so it falleth right with St. Augustine's words, affirming that towards the end of Cecrops's time, Moses led the people of Israel out of Egypt.

Now the time in which the Hebrews were oppressed in Egypt, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine years before the birth of Moses, and fifty-four years, or rather more, after Joseph; between whose death and the birth of Moses there were consumed sixty-four years; some of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For as it is written in Exodus i. *They set taskmasters over them, to keep them under with burdens; and they built the cities, Pithom and Raamses,* &c. *And by cruelty they caused the children of Israel to serve;*

and made them weary of their lives, by sore labour in clay and brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which, laid upon them by a mastering power and a strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed; even from fifty-four years, or not much more, after the death of Joseph, who left the world when it had lasted 2370 years, to the eightieth year of Moses, and until he wrought his miracles in the field of Zoan, which he performed in the world's age 2514 towards the end thereof, according to Codoman, or after our account 2513. And because those things which we deliver of Egypt may the better be understood, I think it necessary to speak a few words of the principal places therein named in this discourse.

SECT. II.

Of divers cities and places in Egypt mentioned in this story, or elsewhere in the scripture.

THIS city, which the Hebrews call [a]Zoan, was built seven years after Hebron. Ezekiel calleth it Taphnes, and so doth Jeremy; the Septuagint, Tanis; Josephus, Protaidis, after the name of an Egyptian queen; Antonius gives it the name of Thanis; Hegesippus, Thamna; and William Tyrius, Tapius. It adjoineth to the land of Gosen, and is the same wherein Jeremy the prophet was stoned to death for preaching against the Egyptian and Jewish idolatry.

Zoan, or Taphnes, was in Moses's time the metropolis of the lower Egypt, in which their Pharaohs then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same city where Abraham in his time found him. But Eusebius out of Artapanus affirmeth, that Abraham read astronomy in Heliopolis, or On, to Pharetates king of Egypt. Alexander Polyhistor out of Eupolemus hath it otherwise, saying, that Abraham instructed the Egyptian priests, and not the king; both which authorities [b]Eusebius citeth. The Septuagint

[a] Numb. xxxiii. Ezekiel xxx. Jer. ii. 43, 44, 46. Joseph. l. 1. c. 9. Tyr. de Bel. sac. l. 19. c. 23.

[b] Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4. Gen. xii. 15. Isa. xix. 11.

and the Vulgar edition, for Zoan write Heliopolis; Pagninus, Vatablus, Junius, and our English, call it On; and Ptolemy, Onium. There are two cities of that name, the one on the frontier of the lower Egypt, towards the south; the other somewhat lower, on the easternmost branch of Nilus, falling into the sea at Pelusium. And it may be, that Heliopolis to the south of the river Trajan, was the same which Vatablus and our English call Aven. Of the latter it is that the scriptures take certain knowledge; the same which Pomponius Mela and Pliny call *Solis oppidum;* Tyrius, in the Holy War, Malbec; the Arabians, Bahalbeth; and Simeon Sethi, Fons Solis. Of this Heliopolis, or On, was Putiphar, priest or prince, whose daughter Joseph married. In the territory adjoining, Jacob inhabited while he lived in Egypt. In the confines of this city, Onias, the high priest of the Jews, built a temple, dedicated to the eternal God; not much inferior to that of Jerusalem, (Ptolemy Philopater then governing in Egypt,) which stood to the time of Vespasian, 333 years after the foundation by Onias, whom Josephus falsely reporteth herein to have fulfilled a prophecy of Isaiah, cap. 19. *In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terræ Ægypti;* "In that day shall the altar "of the Lord be in the midst of the land of Egypt." Antiochus Epiphanes at that time of the building tyrannizing over the Jews, gave the occasion for the erecting of this temple in Egypt. Lastly, there it was that our Saviour Christ Jesus remained, while Joseph and the Virgin Mary feared the violence of Herod; near which, saith Brochard, the fountain is still found, called *Jesus well*, whose streams do afterward water the gardens of Balsamum, no where else found in Egypt. And hereof see more in Brochard, in his description of Egypt.

There is also the city of Noph, remembered by [c] Isaiah and Ezekiel, the same which Hosea the prophet calleth Moph; which latter name it took from a mountain adjoining so called, which mountain [d] Herodotus remembereth. And this is that great city which was called Mem-

[c] Isa. xix. 33. Ezek. xxxiv. Hosea ix. 6. [d] Lib. 2.

phis, and so the Septuagint write it. It is known to the Arabians by the name of Mazar. The Chaldeans name it Alchabyr; and Tudalensis, Mizraim.

Pelusium, which Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius, and our English write Sin, the Septuagint call Sais, and Montanus Lebna; is not the same with Damiata, as [e] Gul. Tyrius witnesseth. In the time of Baldwin III. Pelusium was called Belbeis: *Belbeis*, saith Tyrius, *quæ olim dicta est Pelusium*; "Belbeis, that in times past was called Pe-"lusium."

The city of No, the [f] Septuagint call Diospolis; of which name there are two or three in Egypt. Jerome converts it Alexandria, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Bubastus (for so Jerome and Zeigler write it) is the same which the [g] Hebrews call Pibeseth.

To make the story the more perceivable, I have added a description of the land of Gosen, in which the Israelites inhabited, with those cities and places so often remembered in the scripture; as of Taphnes or Zoan, Heliopolis or Bethsemes, Balsephon, Succoth, and the rest; together with Moses's passage through the deserts of Arabia the Stony. For all story, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure, so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the reader; neither doth any thing serve to retain what we read in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digress in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent, taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man Arias Montanus; who, in his preface to the story of the Holy Land, hath these words: *Si enim absque locorum observatione res gestæ narrentur, aut sine topographiæ cognitione historiæ legantur, adeo confusa atque pertur-*

[e] G. Tyr. l. 20. c. 17. lib. 2. c. 5.
[f] Ezek. xxx. 15, 16.
[g] Ezek. xxx. 17.

bata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit; "If narration," saith he, "be made of "those things which are performed, without the observa- "tion of the places wherein they were done, or if histories "be read without topographical knowledge, all things will "appear so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby un- "derstand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any "knowledge but with the greatest difficulty."

SECT. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites' young children in Egypt; and of Moses's preservation and education.

BUT to return to the story itself. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slavery which the Israelites endured, yet they decreased not in numbers; insomuch as Pharaoh considering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Devil resolved to slaughter all the male children of the Hebrews, as soon as they should be born. To which end he sent for Sephora and Thura, women the most famous and expert amongst them; *quæ præerant*, saith Comestor, *multitudini obstetricum:* "who had command given them over all mid- "wives;" by whom, as it seemeth, he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his edict. For to have called all the midwives of Egypt together, had been a strange parliament. Now whether these two before named were of the Hebrews or of the Egyptians, it is diversely disputed. St. Augustine calls them Hebrews, because it is written, Exod. i. 15. *The king of Egypt commanded the midwives of the Hebrew women*, &c. But [h] Josephus, Abulensis, and Pererius believe them to be Egyptians. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witness both the wickedness of the Egyptians, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and re-

[h] Joseph. Ant. l. 2. c. 5. Abul. et Perer. in Exod.

venge; Pharaoh, finding those women filled with piety and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publicly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male Hebrew children born within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts which Pharaoh had of the multitudes of the Hebrews, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affording them the justice which every king oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might have employed or sent away at his pleasure, [i] Josephus giveth another cause of his rage against them; namely, that it was prophetically delivered him by an Egyptian priest, that among the Hebrews there should be born a child, who, growing to man's estate, should become a plague and terror to his whole nation. To prevent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God by a mean contrary to the laws of heaven and of nature,) he stretched out his bloody and merciless hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention Herod long after practised, when fearing the spiritual kingdom of Christ, as if it should have been temporal, he caused all the male children at that time born to be slaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kind of foreknowledge of the future success, it may be gathered by these his own words in Exod. i. 10. *Come, let us work wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, if there be war, they join themselves also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the land.* But we see, and time hath told it us from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly men, when, forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble and altogether darkened understanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this tyrant, was that great prophet and minister of God's marvellous works taken out of Nilus, being thereinto turned off, in an ark of reeds, a sucking and powerless infant. And this princess having beheld the child's form and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she did not only preserve it,

[i] Joseph. Ant. l. 2. c. 5.

and cause it to be fostered, but commanded that it should be esteemed as her own, and with equal care to the son of a king nourished. And for memory that it was her deed, she called the child Moses, as it were *extractus*, or *ereptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the water; or after Josephus and Glycas, *Moy*, a voice expressing water, and *hises*; as much as to say, that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. [k] Clemens Alexandrinus was of opinion that Moses was circumcised before he was put into the ark of reeds, and that Amram his father had named him Joachim. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care and at the charge of Pharaoh's daughter, and by men of the most understanding taught and instructed: *Quem regio more educavit, præfectis ei sapientibus Ægyptiorum magistris, a quibus erudiretur*, saith Basil; "Unto whom she "gave princely education, appointing over him wise mas-"ters of the Egyptians for his instructors." Thereby, saith Josephus and [l] Philo, he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the Egyptians; which also the martyr Stephen, in the seventh of the Acts, confirmeth: *And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.* Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as Sixtus Senensis hath gathered, we have added, between the death of Moses and the reign of Joshua.

SECT. IV.

Of Moses's flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certain ancient historians of his war in Ethiopia, and of his marriage there. Philo's judgment of his pastoral life, and that of Pererius of the books of Genesis and Job.

WHEN Moses was grown to man's estate, Josephus and Eusebius, out of Artapanus, tell us of ten years war that he made against the Ethiopians; of the besieging of Saba, afterwards by Cambyses called Meroe; and how he recovered that city by the favour of Tharbis, a daughter of Ethiopia, whom he took to wife. So hath Comestor a pretty tale of Moses; How after the end of that war, Thar-

[k] Strom. l. 1. [l] Phil. de Vita Moys.

bis resisting his return into Egypt, Moses, most skilful in astronomy, caused two images to be engraven in two precious stones; whereof the one increased memory, the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two rings, whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his wife Tharbis, reserving the other of memory for himself; which ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while worn, she began to neglect the love she bare her husband; and so Moses without danger returned into Egypt. But leaving these fancies to the authors of them; it is true, that about the 40th year of Moses's age, when he beheld an Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed Hebrews, moved by compassion in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the Egyptian. Soon after which act, finding a disposition in some of his own nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his own life; by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled into Arabia Petræa, the next bordering country to Egypt; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a nation of barbarous strangers, and who in future times were the irreconcileable enemies of the Hebrews; it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly means) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the assisting of the daughters of Raguel the Madianite, an occasion whereby to provide him a wife of one of those, and a father-in-law, that fed him and sustained him in a country nearest Egypt, fittest to return from; necessary to be known, because interjacent between Egypt and Judæa, through which he was to lead the Israelites; and wherein God held him, till the occasion, which God presented, best served. And lastly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous deserts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a king's son, or an adopted child of great Pharaoh's daughter, but as a meek and humble shepherd, sitting at a mountain foot; a keeper and commander of those poor beasts only.

In that part of Arabia, near Madian, he consumed forty years. And though (as Philo in the story of Moses's life observeth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that pastoral knowledge; yet in that solitary desert he enjoyed himself: and being separate from the press of the world, and the troublesome affairs thereof, he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himself all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles; the same author also judging, that his pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the principality which he afterwards obtained: *Est enim*, saith Philo, *ars pastoralis, quasi præludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia et bello perfectura sunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero præfectura mansueti pecoris habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis; ideoque reges cognominantur pastores populorum, non contumeliæ sed honoris gratia;* "The art of keeping sheep is, as it were, an "introductory exercise unto a kingdom, namely, the rule "over men, the most gentle flock; even as warlike natures "do beforehand exercise themselves in hunting, practis-"ing on wild beasts those things which after they will ac-"complish in warfare; those brute beasts affording matter "wherein to train themselves, both in time of war and of "peace. But the government of gentle cattle hath a kind "of resemblance unto a kingly rule over subjects; there-"fore kings are styled shepherds of the people, not in way "of reproach, but for their honour."

That Moses, in this time of his abode at Madian, wrote the book of Job, as Pererius supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought that Job was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to [m] Pererius's opinion, that Moses, while he lived in that part of Arabia, wrote the books of Genesis; although I cannot deny the reason of Pererius's

[m] Perer. in Exod. iii.

conjecture, that by the example of Job's patience he might strengthen the oppressed Hebrews; and by the promises of God to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, put them in assurance of their delivery from the Egyptian slavery, and of the land of rest and plenty promised.

Of his calling back into Egypt by the angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to persuade Pharaoh that he was the messenger of the Most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteen chapters of Exodus; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needless. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when [n] Moses desired to be taught by God, by what name he should make him known, and by whom he was sent, he received from God so much as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he delivered him, in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest; and in his second, to be understood by all. For there is nothing that is or hath being of itself, but the eternal; which truly is, which is above all, which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment; their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in every shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state: [o] *Una est Dei et sola natura, quæ vere est: id enim quod subsistit non habet aliunde, sed suum est. Cætera quæ creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, et potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit;* "It is the "one and only nature of God, which truly is; for he hath "his being of himself, and not from any thing without "him. Other things that are created, although they seem "to be, yet they are not, for sometimes they were not; "and that which hath not been, may again want being." And with this, in respect of the divine nature, the saying of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura*

[n] Exod. iii. 13, 14, 15. [o] Hieron. ad Dam.

umbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax; "The whole nature of "things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitful;" in comparison of whom, saith Isaiah, xl. 17. *all nations are as nothing; less than nothing, and vanity.*

Of the ten plagues wherewith the Egyptians were stricken, the first was by changing the rivers into blood; God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned, the innocent children of the Hebrews. To which this place of Rev. xvi. 5, 6. may be fitly applied: *And I heard the angel of the waters say, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast; and holy, because thou hast judged these things. For they shed the blood of thy saints and prophets, and therefore hast thou given them blood to drink.*

The rest of the plagues, by frogs, lice, flies, or stinging wasps; by the death of their cattle; by leprous scabs; by hail and fire; by grasshoppers; by darkness; after which Pharaoh forbade Moses his presence; moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving king no longer than the pain and peril lasted, till such time as his own first-born, and the first-born of all his nation, perished. He then, while he feared his own life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce,) stood upon no condition; whereas before, he first yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reserving their bestial; but he was now content for the present, that the Israelites should not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the silver, gold, and jewels of his own people; of which (the fear being past) he suddenly repented him, as his pursuit after them proved. For when every one of the Hebrews had (according to direction from Moses received) slain a lamb, without spot or blemish, for the passover, (a sacrament of the most clean and unspotted Saviour,) and with the blood thereof coloured the post and lintel of the doors; the angel of God, in the dead of the night, smote every first-born of Egypt, from the son of the king, to that of the beggar and slave; the children of the Israelites excepted. At which terrible judgment of God, Pharaoh being more than

ever amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The Egyptians, saith [p] Epiphanius, did in aftertimes imitate this colouring with blood, which the Israelites used after the passover, ascribing an exceeding virtue to the red colour; and therefore they did not only mark their sheep and cattle, but their trees bearing fruit, to preserve them from lightning and other harms.

SECT. V.

Of Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites; and of their passage towards the Red sea, so far as Succoth.

NOW, when the people were removed, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God,) he bethought him as well of the honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many calamities and plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoils of his people, and in despite of himself. And having before this time great companies of soldiers in readiness, he consulted with himself what way the Israelites were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the country of the Philistines. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike nation, and in all probability of his allies, he suspected that Moses meant to find some other outlet, to wit, through the desert of Etham; and there, because the country was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that Moses was pestered with multitudes of women, children, and cattle, he thought it impossible for the Israelites to escape him that way. In the mean while, having gathered together all the chariots of [q] Egypt, and 600 of his own, and captains over them, he determined to set upon them in the plains of Gosen, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those chariots, armed with broad and sharp hooks on both sides, in fashion like the mower's scythe: which kind of fight in chariots, but not hooked, the Britains used against the Romans, while they made the war for the conquest of this land. Of this

[p] Epiphan. lib. 1. cont. Hæres. [q] Exod. xiv. 7.

army of Pharaoh, [r] Josephus affirmeth, that it consisted of 50,000 horse, and 20,000 foot; which were it true, then it cannot be doubted but that Pharaoh intended long before to assail the Hebrews at their departure, or to destroy them in Gosen; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an army to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of Exodus, he doubted two things; either that the Hebrews might join themselves to his enemies within the land; or, being so multiplied as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withal enforced him at this time to give an assent to their departure; perchance forerunning his intent. But were it otherwise, and Josephus partial in this affair, yet by the words of the text, Exod. xiv. 7. it appeareth, that he gathered all the chariots of Egypt, which could not be done in haste. For Moses made but three days' march, ere Pharaoh was at his heels; and yet the last day he went on sixteen miles: which, in so hot a country, and to drive their cattle and sheep with them, pestered with a world of women and children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerful enemy at hand. Now, as Moses well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprises; so he lay not still in the ditch crying for help, but, using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becoming a natural wise man, a valiant and a skilful conductor, as by all his actions and counsels from this day to his death well appeared.

When Moses perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence; after he had warned Israel of the passover, he appointed a general assembly or rendezvous of all the Hebrews at Ramases, in the territory of [s] Gosen, a city standing indifferent to receive from all parts of the

[r] Joseph. Ant. l. 2. c. 6.

[s] The territory of Gosen was afterwards called Ramases, after the name of this city, as appeareth in Gen. xlvii. and Numb. xxxiii.

country the dispersed Hebrews; and gave commandment, that every family should bring with them such store as they had of dough and paste, not staying to make it into bread; knowing then that Pharaoh was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of Pharaoh's horsemen and chariots, of which kind of defence Moses was utterly unprovided, (though, as it is written, the Israelites went up armed,) he marched from Ramases [t] eastward towards the deserts of Etham, and encamped at Succoth, which he performed on the 15th day of the month Abib: which month, from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the first month of the year. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to begin their year in some other month, following the manner of the [u] Egyptians, and were now recalled by Moses to the rule of their forefathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had and retained another beginning of their politic year, which was not now abrogated, but rather, by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use. Wherefore, in referring things done or happening among them, unto the beginning, midst, or ending of the year, that distinction of the sacred and the politic year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every month, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is, that Moses himself, in forty years space, did sufficiently instruct the priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust; but that any rule of framing their calendar was made public, before the captivity of Babylon, I do not find. Now because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the form of the Hebrew year; with the difference between them and other nations, in ordering the account of time.

[t] Exod. xiii. [u] Exod. xxiii. 16. and xxxiv. 22.

SECT. VI.

Of the solary and lunary years, and how they are reconciled; with the form of the Hebrew year, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew months are thus named.

The first month, Nisan, or Abib.	1. March.
The second, Jar, or Tiar, Zio, or Zin.	2. April.
The third, Sivan, or Sinan, or Siban.	3. May.
The fourth, Tamuz.	4. June.
The fifth, Ab.	5. July.
The sixth, Elul.	6. August.
The seventh, Tysri, or Ethavin, or Ethanim.	7. September.
The eighth, Marchesuan, or Mechasuan, or Bul, or with [x]Josephus, Marsonane.	8. October.
The ninth, Chisleu, or Casleu.	9. November.
The tenth, Tebeth, or Thobeth.	10. December.
The eleventh, Sebeth, or Sabath.	11. January.
The twelfth, Adar, and Ve Adar.	12. February.

Ve Adar was an intercalary month, added, some years, unto the other twelve, to make the solary and lunary year agree; which (besides the general inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the months of summer into the winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the Hebrews, because of the [y]divine precept. For God appointed especial feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a month of the year, and withal on a set day, both of the moon and of the month; as, the feast of the first-fruits, the new moons, and the like; which could not have so been kept, if either the day of the moon had fallen in some other part of the month, or the month itself been found far distant from his place in the season of the year.

Other nations, the better to observe their solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principal commodity of time, that is, the measure of endurance,) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding sometimes, and some-

[x] Ant. c. 4. [y] Deut. xvi.

times abating one or more days, as the error committed in foregoing years required. The error grew at first by not knowing what number of days made up a complete year. For though by the continual course of the sun, causing summer and winter duly to succeed each other, it is plain enough, even to the most savage of all people, when a year hath passed over them; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbered by a shorter tally, makes this long measure of whole years insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affairs. Therefore men observed the monthly conspicuous revolution of the moon, by which they divided the year into twelve parts, subdividing the month into [z] twenty-nine days and nights, and those again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are sensible, and easily discerned, so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the moon, containing less time by eleven days, or thereabouts, than the yearly course of the sun through the zodiac, in the space of sixteen years, every month was found in the quite contrary part of the year to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to add some days to the year, making it to consist of twelve months, and as many days more as they thought would make the courses of the sun and moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the sun determine his yearly revolution by any set number of whole days; neither did the moon change always at one hour; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be observed by him that would seek to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certain rule. Here lay much wisdom and deep art, which could not soon be brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at random, the Athenians held the year to contain 360 days, wherein most of the Greeks concurred with them. That 360 days filled up the Grecian year, (besides many collateral proofs,) it is manifest by that which [a] Pliny directly affirmeth, telling of the statues erected in

[z] Deut. xvi. 30. and 29. [a] Plin. l. 34. c. 6.

honour of Demetrius Phalereus, which were, saith he, 360, whilst as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. By this account neither did any certain age of the moon begin or end their months; neither could their months continue many years in their own places; but must needs be shifted by little and little, from winter to summer, and from summer to winter, as the days forgotten to be inserted into the almanack by men, but not forgotten by the superior bodies in their courses, should occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, because the solemnity of the Olympian games was to be held at the full moon, and withal on the fifteenth day of the month Hecatombæon, (which answereth in a manner to our June,) they were careful to take order that this month might ever begin with the new moon, which they effected by adding some two days to the last month of every year; those games being held once in four years. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter even, which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the second of the month Boëdromion, agreeing nearly with our August; sometimes not to omit it, or, which is all one, to insert another for it into the fourth lunary year, accounting by the moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their month of June would every year have grown colder and colder, had they not sought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other Olympiad, that is, each eighth year, one whole month, which they called the second Posideon, or December; which was the device of Harpalus, who also taught them to make one month of twenty-nine days, another of thirty, and so successively through the whole year. Thus with much labour they kept their year as near as they could unto the high way of the planets: but these marks, which they observed, were found at length to be deceitful guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth year's intercalation, that it should not deceive them in eleven hours and eighteen minutes at the least, or some ways in thirty-four hours and ten minutes, or thirty-six and forty-one minutes; which differences would in few

ages have bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was Meton the Athenian; who, not regarding the Olympiads, and the eighth year's intercalation, devised a cycle of nineteen years, wherein the moon having 235 times run her circuit, met with the sun in the same place, and on the same day of the year, as in the nineteenth year before past she had done. This invention of Meton was entertained with great applause, and passing from Greece to Rome, was there inserted into the calendar in golden letters, being called the golden number; which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been used; for by the intercalation of seven months in the nineteen years, all was so even, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error, which in one year could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those cycles; the new moons anticipating in one cycle seven hours and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore Calippus devised a new cycle containing four of Meton's, that is to say, seventy-six years; and afterwards Hipparchus, a noble astrologer, framed another, containing four of Calippus's periods, each of them finding some error in the former observations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the calendar was that which Julius Cæsar made, who, by advice of the best mathematicians then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the year unto the form which is now in use with us, containing 365 days and six hours, which hours in four years make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the 24th of February. The correction of the Julian year by pope Gregory XIII. anno Dom. 1582, is not as yet entertained by general consent; it was indeed but as a note added unto the work of Cæsar, yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was observed that the sun, which at the time of the Nicene council, anno Dom. 324, entered the equinoctial on the 21st day of March, was in the year 1582 ten days sooner found in that time, pope Gregory struck out of the calendar ten

days following the fourth of October, so that instead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the moveable feasts, depending on the sun's entrance into Aries, were again celebrated in such time as at the Nicene council they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the council of Trent ordained, that from thenceforward in every hundredth year, the leap-day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred; because the sun doth not in his yearly course take up full six hours above the 365 days, but faileth so many minutes, as in 400 years make about three whole days.

But the cycle of nineteen years, which the Hebrews used, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of hours, minutes, and other lesser fractions to help it; neither did in summing up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the moon, confounding one month with another. For with them it fell out so, that always the calends, or first day of the month, was at the new moon, and because that day was festival, they were very careful as well to observe the short year of the moon, passing through all the twelve signs in one month, as that longer of the sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First therefore, they gave to Nisan their first month, which is about our March or April, thirty days; to Jar, their second month, twenty-nine days; and so successively thirty to one, twenty-nine to another. Hereby it came to pass, that every two months of theirs contained somewhat evenly two revolutions of the moon, allowing twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or epact days, which made up seven months in nineteen years; to six of which seven were commonly given thirty days, to one of them twenty-nine days, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common year (as appeareth by the several days of each month) contained 354 days, which fail of the year wherein the sun finisheth his course eleven whole days, with some fractions of time. But these days, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the cycle of nineteen years were

so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that cycle both the sun and moon were found on the same day of the year, month, and week, yea commonly on the same hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it nineteen years before.

Divers have diversely set down the form of the Hebrew year, with the manner of their intercalations. [b] Sigonius tells us, that every second year they did add a month of twenty-two days; every fourth year a month of twenty-three, in the regard of eleven days and a half wanting in twelve moons to fulfil a year of the sun. But herein Sigonius was very much deceived. For the moon doth never finish her course in twenty-two or twenty-three days; and therefore to have added so many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the fashion of all the months in the years following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new moon. [c] Genebrard saith, that every third year, or second year, as need required, they did intercalate one month, adding it at the year's end unto the other twelve. This I believe to have been true; but in which of the years the intercalation was, (if it be worthy of consideration,) methinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all far from evenness until the very last of the nineteen years. For (to omit such as err grossly) some there are who say, that after three years, when besides the days spent in thirty-six courses of the moon, thirty-three days are left remaining, that is, eleven days of each year; then did the Hebrews add a month of thirty days, keeping three days as it were in plussage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth year; at which time, besides the intercalary month, remained six days, namely, three surmounting that month, and the epact of three years, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they go on to the eighteenth year, at which time they have eighteen days in hand; all which, with the epact of the nineteenth year, make up a month of twenty-nine days, that being intercalated at the end of the cycle makes all even.

[b] Sig. de Rep. Hebr. l. 3. c. 1.

[c] Geneb. Chron. l. 2.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the eighteenth year every month were removed from his own place by the distance of forty-eight days, that is, half a quarter of the year and more; which inconvenience by such a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore I prefer the common opinion, which preventeth such dislocation of the months, by setting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the eighth year. For the six days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the third and sixth years, added unto the twenty-two days, arising out of the epacts of the seventh and eighth years, do fitly serve to make up a month, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the years ensuing vary the less from the proper season of every month. This may suffice to be spoken of the Hebrew months and years, by which they guided their accounts.

SECT. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red sea; and of the divers ways leading out of Egypt.

FROM Succoth, in the morning following, Moses led the Israelites towards the desert of Etham, to recover the mountain foot, by the edge of that wilderness, though he intended nothing less than to go out that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of horsemen and armed chariots that followed him, he kept himself from being encompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At Etham he rested but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the south; the distance between it and Succoth being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter Arabia, being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from three respects; the first two natural, the third divine. For Pharaoh being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which Moses took, persuaded himself that the numbers which Moses led, consisting of

above a million, if not two millions of souls, (for as it is written, Exodus the 12th, *Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them* [d],) could not possibly pass over those desert and high mountains with so great multitudes of women, children, and cattle, but that at the very entrance of that fastness he should have overtaken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his own words, *They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in*, do shew his hopes and intents, which Moses by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, Moses, by offering to enter Arabia that way, drew Pharaoh towards the east side of the land of Gosen, or Rameses; from whence (missing Moses there) his pursuit after him with his chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughness of the way; and howsoever, yet while the Hebrews kept the mountain foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the overbearing violence both of the horse and chariots. Thirdly, Moses's confidence in the all-powerful God was such, by whose Spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600,000 men, to cast the success upon his own understanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from Etham towards the valley of Pihacheroth, sixteen miles distant, and sat down between two ledges of mountains adjoining to the Red sea; to wit, the mountains of Etham on the north, and Baalzephon towards the south, the same which Osorius calleth [e] Climax; on the top whereof there stood a temple dedicated to Baal. And as Phagius noteth, the word so compounded is as much to say, as *dominus speculæ sive custodiæ*, "lord of the "watch-tower." For the Egyptians believed, or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into Arabia, this idol would both arrest them,

[d] It is probable, that all those Egyptians and others brought by the Hebrews to the knowledge of the true God, followed Moses at his departure.

[e] Climax is rather so called in respect of a passage up and down, than that it is any proper name.

and force them to return to their lords and masters. For the Egyptians had gods for all turns: *Ægyptii diis fœcundi*, "the Egyptians were fruitful in gods," saith St. Jerome. But Moses, who encamped at the foot of this mountain with a million of souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this lord of the watch-tower asleep, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of Egypt into Arabia upon the firm land [f] Moses refused, as well that of Pelusium and Casiotis, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of Judæa, as the other by Etham; from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembered, and took the way by the valley of Pihacheroth, between the mountains, which made a straight entrance towards the sea. After whom Pharaoh made so great speed with his horsemen and chariots, as he gave the Hebrews no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gat sight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and wash of the sea; insomuch as the Hebrews being terrified with Pharaoh's sudden approach, began to despair and to mutiny, at that time when it behoved them most to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to Moses's charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, [g] *which*, saith the book of Wisdom, *is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth*, made them both despair in God's former promises, and to be forgetful of their own strength and multitudes.

SECT. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red sea; and of the Red sea itself.

BUT Moses, who feared nothing but God himself, persuaded them to be confident in his goodness, who hath never abandoned those that assuredly trust in him, using this comfortable and resolved speech; [h] *Fear not*, &c. *for the Egyptians whom you have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you.* After which Moses calling on God for succour, received encourage-

[f] Exod. xiii. 17. [g] Wisd. xvii. 12. [h] Exod. xiv. 13, 14.

ment, and commandment to go on, in these words: [i] *Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward: and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the sea, and divide it: and let the children of Israel go on dry ground through the midst of the sea.* Moses obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night finding the sands uncovered, passed on towards the other side and coast of Arabia; two parts of the night being spent ere he entered the ford, which it pleased God, by a forcible eastern wind, and by Moses's rod, to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the same dry ground which Moses trod on. Therefore, as it is written, *the angel of God which went before the host of Israel, removed, and went behind them; also the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behind them;* which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministry of his angel, to interpose his defence between the Hebrews and their enemies; to the end that the [k] Egyptians might hereby be blinded, in such sort as they could not pursue Israel with any harmful speed. But in the morning watch Moses seized the other bank of Arabia side; and Pharaoh (as the dawn of day began to illighten the obscure air) finding a beginning of the seas return, hasted himself towards his own coast; [l] *but Moses stretched forth his hand, and the sea returned to his force;* that is, the sea, moved by the power of God, ran back towards the land with unresistible fury and swiftness, and overwhelmed the whole army of Pharaoh, so as not one escaped. For it is written, *that God took off their chariot-wheels*, that is, when the waters began to cover the sands, the Egyptians being stricken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had passed on after the Hebrews, their wheels stuck fast in the mud and quicksands, and could not be drawn out; the sea coming against them with supernatural violence.

Lyranus upon Exodus xiv. and others, following the opinions or old traditions of the Hebrews, conceived, that after

[i] Exod. xiv. 15, 16. [k] Joshua xxiv. 7. [l] Exod. xiv. 27.

Moses had by the power of God divided the Red sea, and that the children of Israel were fearful to enter it, Aminadab, prince or leader of the tribe of Judah, first made the adventure, and that therefore was that tribe ever after honoured above the rest, according to the prophecy of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 8. *Thy father's sons shall bow down unto thee.* But Jerome upon the 11th of Hosea condemns this opinion. And though it be true, that Judah had the first place in all their marches in the desert, and, as we now call it, led the vanguard, (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red sea,) yet that Moses himself was the conductor of Israel at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the 77th Psalm, *Thou didst lead thy people like sheep by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*

The Hebrews have also another fancy, that the Red sea was divided into twelve parts, and that every tribe passed over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135th Psalm, according to the Vulgar, *Divisit mare rubrum in divisiones;* "He divided the Red sea in divisions." Also that the bottom of the sea became as a green field or pasture. But Origen, Epiphanius, Abulensis, and Genebrard, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelve pillars nor twelve armies of the Egyptians. It is written, Psalm lxxvii. 19. *Thy way is in the sea;* not *thy ways;* and in the last of the Book of Wisdom, ver. 7. *In the Red sea there was a way.*

Now this sea, through which Moses passed, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called Chencres, perished in the sixteenth year of his reign, is commonly known by the name of the Red sea; though the same differ nothing at all in natural colour from other waters. But, as Philostratus in his third book noteth, and ourselves know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other seas are. It entereth at a narrow strait between Arabia the Happy and Ethiopia, or the land of the Abyssins; the mouth of the indraught from the cape, which Ptolemy calleth Possodium, to the other land of Ethiopia, hath not above six leagues in breadth; and the same also filled every where with islands, but afterwards it ex-

tendeth itself fifty-eight leagues from coast to coast; and it runneth up between Arabia the Happy and Arabia Petræa, on one side, and Ethiopia and Egypt on the other, as far as Sues, the uttermost end and indraught of that sea, where the Turk now keepeth his fleet of galleys. The cosmographers commonly give it the name of the Arabian gulf; but the north part towards Sues, and where Moses passed, is called Heropolites of the city Hero, sometime Troy; and of later times Sues. [m] Pliny calls it Cambisu, by which name it was known, saith he, before it was called Hero, many years. The Arabians call this sea towards the north, Apocopa, Eccant, and Eant. Artemidorus writes it Æleniticum; king Juba, Læniticum; others more properly Elaniticum, of the port and city Elana; which the Septuagint call [n] Elath; Ptolemy, Elana; Pliny, Læna; [o] Josephus, Ilana; and Marius Niger, Aila; there is also Ilalah in Assyria, to which Salmanassar carried the Israelites captive, 2 Kings viii. 11. which Ilalah in Assyria, the Septuagint call Elaa, and in the 1st of Chron. the 5th, Ala. But as for this Red sea, or the parts thereof, thus diversely named, the Moors and Arabians (vassals to the Turk) know it by no other appellation than the gulf of Meca, after the name of Mahomet's town Mecca. The Greeks write it the sea Erythræum, of a king called Erythras, or Erythræus; and because Erythros in the Greek signifieth red, hence it is, that, being denominated of this Erythræus, the son of Perseus and Andromeda, yet it took the name of the Red sea, as Quin. Curtius conjectureth; which [p] Arianus and Strabo confirm. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discovery of that sea in the year 1544, performed by Stephen Gama, viceroy of the East India for the king of Portugal, that this sea was so called from a reflection of redness, both from the banks, clifts, and sands of many islands, and part of the continent bordering it. For I find by the report of Castro, a principal commander under Gama, (which discourse I gave Mr. Richard

[m] Plin. l. 6. c. 29.
[n] 3 Kings ix.
[o] Jos. Ant. 8. c. 2.
[p] Arian. de Gest. Alex. mag. l. 8. Strab. l. 6.

Hakluyt to publish,) that there is an island called Dalaqua, sometimes Leques, containing in length twenty-five leagues, and twelve in breadth, the earth, sands, and clifts of which island, being of a reddish colour, serve for a foil to the waters about it, and make it seem altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same Castro reporteth, that from twenty-four degrees of septentrional latitude, to twenty-seven, (which make in length of coast 180 miles, lying as it doth northerly and southerly,) all the clifts and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the sunbeams, give a kind of reddish lustre to the waters. Thirdly, those Portugals report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this sea, towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of coral grows, which is carried into most parts of Europe, and elsewhere. There are also on the islands of this sea many red trees, saith Strabo, and those growing under water may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of redness by the shadows of these stones, sands, earth, and clifts, I suppose that it first took the name of the Red sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such; which Johannes Barros, in his second decade, eighth book and first chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this sea from Elana, or Ezion Gaber adjoining, now Toro, called by the ancient cosmographers Sinus Elaniticus, which washeth the banks of Madian, or Midian, is for sixteen or seventeen leagues together, along northward towards Sues, some three leagues, or nine English miles, over, and from this port of Toro to Sues, and the end of this sea, it is in length about twenty-eight leagues, of which the first twenty-six have nine miles breadth, as aforesaid, and afterwards the lands both from Egypt and Arabia thrust themselves into the sea, and straiten it so fast, as for six miles together it is not above three miles over; from thence upward, the land on Egypt side falleth away, and makes a kind of bay or cove for some ten miles together, after which the land grows upon the sea again, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at four miles breadth, or there-

abouts, in which tract it was that Moses passed it over, though others would have it to be over against Elana, or Toro, but without judgment; for from Ramases to Pihacheroth and Baalzephon, there is not above thirty miles interjacent, or thirty-five miles at most, which Moses passed over in three days; and between the land of Egypt opposite to Elana, or Toro, the distance is above eighty miles. For Ramases, to which city Moses came (being the metropolis of Gosen) when he left Pharaoh at Zoan, and took his last leave, standeth in thirty degrees five minutes of septentrional latitude; and Migdol, or the valley of Pihacheroth, at the foot of the mountain Climax, or Baalsephon, in twenty-nine and a half, which made a difference of thirty-five English miles; the way lying in effect north and south.

SECT. IX.

That the passage through the Red sea was miraculous, and not at a low ebb.

THE Egyptians, and of them the Memphites, and other heathen writers, who in hatred of the Hebrews have objected that Moses passed over the Red sea at a low ebb, upon a great springtide; and that Pharaoh, conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recover the coast of Egypt he was overtaken by the flood, and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place, with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the scriptures which makes it plain that the waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an easterly wind, and by the hand and rod of Moses, (which authority to men that believe not therein persuadeth nothing,) I say, that by the same natural reason unto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himself to Moses, and the children of Israel, than ordinary and casual, then could not Pharaoh and all his army have perished in that pursuit.

For wheresoever there is any ebbing of the sea in any gulf or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the

land, and run downward towards the ocean; leaving all that part towards the land, as far as the sea can ebb, or fall off, to be dry land. Now Moses entering the sea at Migdol under Baalzephon, (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide,) must have left all that end of the Red sea towards Sues, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water, ten or twelve miles further into the sea than Sues, much more was it made at Sues, and between it and where Moses passed, who entered the same so far below it, and towards the body of the same sea; it followeth then, that if all that part of the sleeve or strait had been by the ebb of a springtide discovered, when Pharaoh found the flood increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward Egypt side, but might have gone on his return before the tide, on his right hand, and so taken ground again at the end of that sea, at Sues itself, or elsewhere. But the scriptures do truly witness the contrary, that is, that the sea did not fall away from the land, as naturally it doth; but that Moses passed on between two seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, Pharaoh by any return of waters could not have perished as he did; and therefore the effects of that great army's destruction prove the cause to have been a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himself. Again, those words of the scriptures, that *God caused the sea to run back by a strong east wind*, do rather prove the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebb more than ordinary; for that sea doth not lie east and west, but, in effect, north and south. And it must have been a west and north-west wind, that must have driven those waters away through their proper channels, and to the south-east into the sea. But the east wind blew athwart the sea, and cut it asunder; so as one part fell back towards the south and main body thereof, the other part remained towards Sues and the north; which being unknown to Pharaoh, while he was checked by that sea, which used in all times before to ebb away, the flood pressed him and overwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing Josephus

avoweth, that Moses was not only of excellent judgment generally, but also so great a captain, as he overthrew the Ethiopians in many battles, being employed by Pharaoh, and won divers cities seeming impregnable; it were barbarous to condemn him of this grossness and distraction; that rather than he would have endured the hardness of a mountainous passage at hand, (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would there win upon Pharaoh,) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water; for he knew not the contrary, but that Pharaoh might have found him, and pressed him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding Pharaoh's approach, cried out against Moses, and despaired altogether of their safety; and when Moses prayed unto God for help, he was answered by God; *Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the sea, and divide it:* which proves that there was not at the time of Pharaoh's approach any ebb at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong east wind, whereby the sands discovered themselves between the sea on the left hand towards Sues, from whence the waters moved not, and the sea which was towards the south on the right hand, *so that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left hand*, Exod. xiv. 22. that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the Egyptians could only follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood upright as walls do, as some of the schoolmen have fancied. For had Pharaoh and the Egyptians perceived any such buildings in the sea, they would soon have quitted the chase and pursuit of Israel. Furthermore, there is no man of judgment that can think that Pharaoh and the Egyptians, who then excelled all nations in the observations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes and refluxes of the sea, in his own country, on his own coast, and in his own most traded and frequented ports and havens, and wherein his people having had so many

hundreds of years experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknown or natural accident, but by God's powerful hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if the army of the Egyptians had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the flood, before they could recover their own coast, their bodies drowned would have been carried with the flood which runneth up to Sues, and to the end of that sea, and not have been cast ashore on that coast of Arabia where Moses landed, to wit, upon the sea-bank over against Baalzephon, on Arabia side, where it was that the Israelites saw their dead bodies; and not at the end of the Red sea, to which place the ordinary flood would have carried them; which flood doth not any where cross the channel, and run athwart it, as it must have done from Egypt side to Arabia, to have cast the Egyptians' bodies there; but it keeps the natural course towards the end of that sea, and to which their carcasses should have been carried, if the work had not been supernatural and miraculous. Apollonius, in the lives of the fathers, affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which stayed in the country, and did not follow Pharaoh in the pursuit of Israel, did ever after honour those beasts, birds, plants, or other creatures, about which they were busied at the time of Pharaoh's destruction; as he that was then labouring in his garden made a god of that plant or root about which he was occupied; and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given elsewhere. Orosius, in his first book and tenth chapter against the pagans, tells us, that in his time, who lived some 400 years after Christ, the prints of Pharaoh's chariot wheels were to be seen at a low water on the Egyptian sands; and though they were sometime defaced by wind and weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Israelites from the Red sea to the place where the law was given them; with a discourse of laws.

SECT. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching chronology; with a continuance of the story, until the Amalekites met with the Israelites.

BUT to go on with the story of Israel, in this sort I collect the times. [q]Moses was born in the year of the world 2434, Saphrus then governing Assyria; Orthopolis, Sycionia, or Peloponnesus; Criasus, the Argives; Orus, Egypt; and Deucalion, Thessaly. He fled into Midian, when he had lived forty years, in the year of the world 2474, and two years after was Caleb born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into Egypt, and wrought his miracles in the fields of Zoan, in the year 2514, in the last month of that year. On the fourteenth day of the first Hebrew month Abib, or the fifteenth of that month, beginning the day (as they) at sunsetting, in the year of the world 2514, was the celebration of the passover; and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the [r]first-born slain through Egypt, or in all those parts where the Hebrews inhabited. The [s]fifteenth day of the first month of the Hebrews, called Abib, being about the beginning of the year of the world 2514, Moses, with the children of Israel, removed from the general assembly at Ramases, and marched to Succoth.

And departing thence they made their third station at [t]Etham; and journeying from Etham they encamped in the valley of Pihacheroth, or Migdol, under the mountain [u]Baalzephon, and in the same night, after midnight, they passed the Red sea; Pharaoh and his army perishing in

[q] Acts vii. Joshua xiv.
[r] Exod. xii.
[s] Numb. xxxiii.
[t] Exod. xiii. Numb. xxxiii.
[u] Exod. xiv.

their return, about the first dawn of the day. Moses having recovered the banks of Arabia, gave thanks unto God for the delivery of Israel; and making no stay on that coast, entered the deserts of Arabia Petræa, called Sur; but finding no water in that passage, he encamped at [x]Marah, in the desert of Etham, which in Exodus xv. 22. is also called Sur, twenty-five miles from the sea; where the children of Israel, pressed with extreme thirst, murmured against [y]Moses a second time; first at Pharaoh's approach in Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But Moses taking the branches of a tree, growing near a lake of bitter water, and casting the same thereinto, made the same sweet, a plain type and figure of our Saviour; who upon the tree of the cross changed the bitterness of everlasting death into the sweetness of eternal life. Pliny remembers these bitter fountains in his sixth book and twenty-ninth chapter. From whence to Delta in Egypt, Sesostris first, Darius after him, and lastly, Ptolemy the second, began to cut an artificial river, thereby by boats and small shipping to trade and navigate the Red sea, from the great cities upon Nilus. From Marah he removed to [z]Elim, the sixth mansion, a march of eight miles; where finding twelve fountains of sweet water, and seventy palm-trees, he rested divers days.

Whether this Helim were the name of a town or city in Moses's time, I cannot affirm. And yet the scarcity of waters in that region was such, as Helim, which had twelve fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. William archbishop of Tyre, in his history of the holy war, found at Helim the ruins of a great and ancient city. And at such time as Baldwin the first passed that way into Egypt, [a]*Ingressus*, saith he, *Helim, civitatem antiquissimam populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum pervenisset, loci illius incolæ, regis adventu præcognito, naviculam ingredientes in mare vicinum se contulerunt;* "Entering "Helim, a very ancient city, well known sometime to the "people of Israel; whither when he came, the inhabitants,

[x] Numb. xxxiii.
[y] Exod. xv. Numb. xxxiii.
[z] Ibid.
[a] Will. Tyr. l. 11. c. 19.

" forewarned of the king's approach, took boat, and shifted " themselves into the sea, lying near them." From Elim he returned again towards the south, and sat down by the banks of the Red sea; the seventh mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of Amalek, who prepared to resist his passage through that part of Arabia. And Moses, who had not as yet trained those of the Hebrews appointed to bear arms, nor assured the minds of the rest, who encountering with the least misery were more apt to return to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to undertake or sustain so dangerous an enemy; he therefore made stay at this mansion, until the fifteenth of the second month called Zim, or Ijar, and made the eighth mansion in the desert of [b]Zin; where the children of Israel mutinied against Moses the third time, having want of food. In the sixteenth chapter of Exodus, Moses omitteth this retreat from Elim to the Red sea, but in the collection of every several encamping, in the thirty-third of Numbers, it is set down.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of quails, as all the country about their encamping was covered with them. The morning following it also rained manna, being the sixteenth of their month, which served them instead of bread. For [c]now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of Egypt. And though they had great numbers of cattle and sheep among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feed themselves with many of those; but reserved them, both for the milk to relieve the children withal, and for bread to store themselves when they came to the land promised.

From hence towards Raphidim they made two removes of twenty miles; the one to Daphca, the other to Alus, distant from Raphidim six miles. Here being again pressed with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from Egypt, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the

[b] Exod. xvi. [c] Ibid.

manner of beasts, than to suffer a casual and sometimes necessary want, and to undergo the hazards and travels which every manly mind seeketh after, for the love of God and their own freedoms. But [d]Moses, with the same rod which he divided the sea withal, in the sight of the elders of Israel, brought waters out of the rock, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

SECT. II.

Of the Amalekites, Midianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battle with the Amalekites, and Jethro's coming; who being a Kenite, was priest of Midian.

AND while Moses encamped in this place, the Amalekites, who had knowledge of his approach, and guessed that he meant to lead the children of Israel through their country, (which being barren of itself, would be utterly wasted by so great a multitude of people and cattle,) thought it most for their advantage to set upon them at Raphidim; where the want of water, and all other things needful for the life of man, enfeebled them. On the other side Moses perceiving their resolutions, gave charge to [e]Joshua, to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest Hebrews to encounter Amalek. Between whom and Israel, the victory remained doubtful for the most part of the day; the Hebrews and Amalekites contending with equal hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of Moses's prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men, that valiant and warlike nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are unacquainted with scarcity of food, and those minds whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired in their first attempts, will hardly or never be brought again to hazard themselves.

After this victory Jethro repaired to Moses, bringing with him Moses's wife, and his two sons, which either Jethro forbare to conduct, or Moses to receive, till he had

[d] Exod. xvii. [e] Ibid.

by this overthrow of Amalek the better assured himself of that part of Arabia. For it is written, Exodus xviii. 1. *When Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father-in-law, heard all that God had done for Moses,* &c. of which the last deed, to wit, the overthrow of Amalek, gave Jethro courage and assurance, he then repaired to his son-in-law Moses, at Sinai; where, amongst other things, he advised Moses to appoint judges, and other officers, over Israel; being himself unable to give order in all causes and controversies, among so many thousands of people full of discontentment and private controversy.

This Jethro, although he dwelt amongst the Midianites, yet he was by nation a Kenite, as in Judges iv. 11. 17. it is made manifest, where it is written, *Now Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, to wit, the son of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his tents until the plain of Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh.* Likewise in the first of Samuel, [f]Saul commanded the Kenites to depart from among the Amalekites, lest he should destroy them with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountains of Sin Kadesh, and the Amalekites dwelt in the plains, according to the saying of Balaam, speaking of the Kenites; [g]*Strong is thy dwellingplace, and thou hast put thy nest in the rock.* And that [h]Saul spared this nation, he giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to all the children of Israel when they came up from Egypt. For these Kenites were a nation of the Midianites, and the Midianites were of the issues of [i]Midian, one of the six sons which Abraham begat on Keturah; and might also take that name of Kenites from Keturah, of whom they descended by the mother, who, as it seemeth, kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their parent Abraham. For Moses, when he fled out of Egypt into Midian, and married the daughter of Jethro, would not (had he found them idolaters) have made Jethro's daughter the mother of his children. And although the

[f] 1 Sam. xv. 16.
[g] Numb. xxiv. 21.
[h] 1 Sam. xv.
[i] Gen. xxv.

Kenites are named amongst those nations which God promised that the seed of Abraham should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from Abraham himself; but by some other nation bearing the same name, and in all likelihood of the race of Chus. For in Genesis xv. 19. these Kenites, or Chusites, are listed with the Hittites and Perezites, with the Amorites, Canaanites, Gergesites, and Jebusites, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these Kenites descended from [k] Abraham, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembered, [l] Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, was departed from the Kenites, that is to say, from those Kenites of Canaan, and inhabited in Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh, or Kadesh. Again, Moses nameth that nation of the Kenites, before Midian, or any of Abraham's other sons were born; which he did (referring myself to better judgment) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

And as of the Kenites, so we may consider of the [m] Midianites, parted by Moses into five tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and heathens; as those of Midian by the river Zared, afterwards destroyed by Moses. But the Midianites near the banks of the Red sea, where Moses married his wife Zipporah, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of Amalek, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these Midianites with the Kenites assisted Israel, and guided them in the deserts. But the Midianites in Moab, and to the north of the metropolis of Arabia, called Petræa, were by Israel rooted out, when those adjoining to the Red sea were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of Midian, of whom Jethro was priest, and the other cities in Moab were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For Moses would not have sent 12,000 Israelites, as far back as the Red sea, from the plains of Moab, to have destroyed that Midian where his wife's kindred inhabited; seeing

[k] Gen. xv. [l] Judg. iv. 11. [m] Gen. xxv. 4.

himself coming with 600,000 able men was encountered by Amalek in that passage. Neither could Moses forget the length of the way through those discomfortable deserts, wherein himself and Israel had wandered forty years.

That Jethro or Jothor, Raguel or Reuel, and Hobab, were but one person, the scriptures teach us. For the Vulgar and Septuagint, which call him Raguel, and our English, Reuel, Exod. ii. 18. call him Jethro, or Jothor, Exod. iii. 1. iv. 18. xviii. 1, and 6, 9, 10, 12. and in Numbers x. 29. Hobab. Others take Jethro and Hobab to be the same, but not Raguel.

SECT. III.

Of the time when the law was given; with divers commendations of the invention of laws.

THE rest of the months of this year 2515 were spent in the desert of Sinai, near the mountain of Sinai or Horeb, the twelfth mansion. Eusebius thought that Sinai or Horeb were distinct mountains; Jerome, to be but one, of a double name; and so it appeareth by many scriptures. For in Exod. iii. 1. it is called Horeb; and in Exod. xxiv. 16. it is written Sinai. In Psalm cvi. 19. Horeb; in Exod. xix. 11. Sinai. And so it is called Galatians iv. 24. and again, Deut. iv. 10, 15. and Deut. v. 2. Horeb. And so it is in the 1st of Kings, viii. 6. and the 2d of Chron. v. 10. and in Malachi iv. 4. Finally, in Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 7. they are named as one: *Which heardest*, saith Ecclesiasticus, *the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgment of the vengeance.* Somewhat they are disjoined at the top by the report of Peter Belonius, who in the year 1588 passed out of Egypt into Arabia, with monsieur de Fumet of France, and travelled to the top both of Sinai and Horeb, Sinai being by far the higher hill. From the side of Horeb, saith he, there falleth a very fair spring of water into the valley adjoining; where he found two monasteries of Christian Marronites, containing some 100 religious persons of divers nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate

fruits, and excellent wine. These, saith the same [n] author, give entertainment to all strangers which pass that way.

Now, that there was some such torrent of water near Sinai in Moses's time, it is very probable; first, because he encamped thereabout almost a year, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle; secondly, because it is written, Exod. xxxii. 20. that when Moses had broken the golden calf to powder, which Aaron set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of Israel to drink thereof.

On this mountain, the law by the angel of God was given to Moses, where he stayed a whole year, wanting some ten or twelve days; for he removed not till the twentieth day of the second month of the second year, and he arrived about the forty-fifth day after the egression; the law being given the fiftieth day.

At this mansion all was done which is written from the beginning of the twenty-ninth chapter of Exodus to the end of that book, all in Leviticus, and all in Numbers to the tenth chapter. Whereof (because there is no story nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of the law, and the kinds and use thereof; whereby, if the reader find the story any way disjoined, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any commonwealth, without the rule, level, and square of laws; so it pleased God to give thereby unto Moses the powerfullest mean (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted, to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the north star is the most fixed director of the seaman to his desired port; so is the law of God the guide and conductor of all in general to the haven of eternal life; the law of nature, from God's eternal law deduced, the rule of all his creatures; the law human, de-

[n] Pet. Bel. lib. 2. c. 62.

pending on both these, the guard of kings, magistrates, and virtuous men; yea, the very spirit and the very sinews of every estate in the world, by which they live and move; the law, to wit, a just law, being resembled to an heart without affection, to an eye without lust, and to a mind without passion; a treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have.

This benefit the ancients, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that, among them, those which were taken for the first makers of laws were honoured as gods, or as the sons of gods; and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posterity for men of no less virtue, and no less liberally beneficial to their countries, than the greatest and most prosperous conquerors that ever governed them. The Israelites, the Lacedæmonians, and the Athenians, received their laws from one; as the Israelites from Moses, the Lacedæmonians from Lycurgus, the Athenians from Solon; the Romans sometimes from their first kings, from their *decemviri*, from their senators, from their lawyers, and from the people themselves; others from the prince, nobility, and people, as in England, France, and in other Christian monarchies and estates.

SECT. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words law *and* right.

THE word *lex*, or *law*, is not always taken alike, but is diversely and in an indifferent sense used. For if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of grammar and other arts are called *laws*. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of superiors to inferiors; for the commandments of tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force; for their decrees do also usurp that title, according to the general acceptation of the word *law;* of which Isaiah, [o] *Woe unto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things.* Likewise the word is used for the tumultuary resolutions

[o] Isaiah x. 1.

of the people. For such constitutions doth Aristotle also call *laws*, though evil and unsufficient: [p] *Mala lex est, quæ tumultuarie posita est;* "It is an ill law that is made tumul-"tuously." So as all ordinances, good or evil, are called by the name of *laws*.

The word *law* is also taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions; framing and fashioning them according to itself, as to their pattern and platform. And thus the law of the flesh, which the divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be understood. For every law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it; in which sense, as [q] elsewhere, this moral habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart; so in St. Paul to the Romans it is called a *law: But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin.* Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometimes called [r] *laws*, so far as they agree with the reason of the law eternal; as, the law of a lion, to be fierce or valiant.

Also private contracts, among merchants and other tradesmen, do often put on the name of *laws*. But law commonly and properly is taken for a right rule, prescribing a necessary mean for the good of a commonwealth, or civil community. The rest, to wit, the commandments of tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by Thomas called *violentiæ magis quam leges*, "rather compulsions than laws:" and whatsoever is not just, St. Augustine doth not allow for laws, howsoever established; for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec jura dicenda, nec putanda sunt;* "the un-"just constitutions of men, which are neither to be termed "nor thought laws." For, saith Aristotle, [s] *Legalia justa sunt factiva, et conservativa felicitatis;* "Just laws are

[p] Ethic. l. 4. c. 1.

[q] Gen. vi. 5. and viii. 2.

[r] So Virgil, *Continuo has leges æternaque fœdera certis Imposuit natura locis:* where also it is to be noted, that he joins *leges* and *fœdera* together: as in the scripture the law is ofttimes called the covenant.

[s] Arist. Ethic. 5. 1.

"the workers and preservers of happiness;" because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam*, "to a quiet life," according to Cicero; yea, *to life everlasting*, according to the scriptures. For the end of the law, saith [t]Plato, is God and his worship: *Finis legis Deus et cultus ejus.* *Lex*, or the *law*, is so called by the Latins, *a legendo*, or, *a ligando*, of reading, or binding; *Leges quia lectæ et ad populum latæ*, saith Varro; for after laws were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other etymology, *a ligando*, is no less agreeable with the nature of a law; whence in the scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band; as, [u]*Confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula;* "They have broken the "yoke, they have broken the bands." And in the second Psalm, [x]*Dirumpamus vincula eorum, et projiciamus a nobis funes ipsorum;* "Let us break their bands in sunder, "and cast away their cords from us."

The covenant it is called, because of the conditional promises of God; and because of God's people's voluntary submission of themselves unto it; for which word the Septuagint and the Epistle to the Hebrews use the word διαθήκη, a testament or last will; which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the testator; for without the death of the testator the testament is of no force; as Heb. ix. 17. it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.*

The Hebrews call the law *thorah*, of teaching, because every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and men. The Greeks call it νόμος, of distributing, because it distributeth to every man his own due; the power of the law is the power of God; justice being an attribute proper unto God himself: *Imperium legis imperium Dei est;* "The reign of the law is the reign of God."

Law in general is thus defined by the philosophers: *Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, et quæ fugienda;* "Law is the rule of life, commanding what to fol-

[t] Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg. [u] Jer. v. 5. [x] Psalm ii.

" low, and what to shun; or, *Lex est omnium divinarum et humanarum rerum regina;* " Law is the queen or prin-" cess of things both human and divine." But this description is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of nature, the reason and understanding of the prudent, and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *index sui et curvi*, " the demon-" strance of itself and of the crooked;" so is the law the judge and measure of right and wrong.

Mr. Hooker calls the law a directive rule to goodness of operation; and though law, as touching the substance and essence, consist in understanding, *concludit tamen actum voluntatis;* " yet it comprehends the act of our will." The word *jus* is also diversely taken, as sometimes for the matter of the law, and for common right; sometimes for the law itself; as *jus civile*, or *jus gentium*. [y] Isidore distinguisheth the two general words *jus* and *fas;* whereof *jus*, saith he, hath reference to men, *fas* to God: *Fas lex divina, jus lex humana.* To go over another man's field is permitted by God's law, not by man's; and therefore in a thing out of controversy Virgil used both those words: as, *Fas et jura sinunt,* " God and men permit."

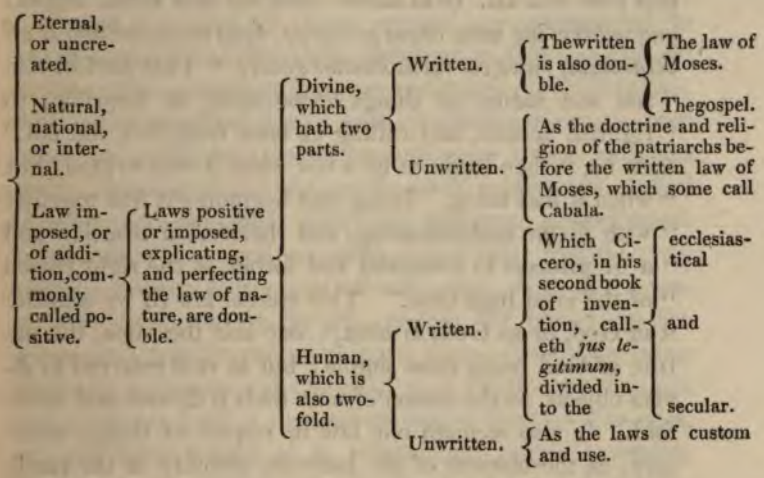
The word *jus*, or *right*, is derived or taken from the old substantive noun *jussus*, a bidding or commandment; or perhaps from the Greek Ζεὺς, which is the name of Jupiter, or of the Latin genitive case *Jovis;* because, as the scripture speaks, [z] *the judgment is God's.* For as it is certain, that *jus-jurandum* came of *Jovis-jurandum*, (for so we find it written in Nonius out of the ancient, in which sense the scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*,) so also we may say, that *jus* came of *Jovis, quia Jovis est;* because as God is the author, and pattern, and maintainer of right, so also in his [a] vicegerents, the magistrates, he is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this *jus*, the just are denominated, *justus a jure*, and *justitia a justo;* " the right gives name to " the righteous;" and " justice takes her name from the just."

[y] Isid. Etym. [z] Deut. i. 17. 2 Chron. xix. 6. [a] Exod. xxii. 11. 1 Kings ii. 43.

SECT. V.

Of the definition of laws, and of the law eternal.

BUT because laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order first to divide and distinguish them. I mean those sorts of laws from whence all other particulars are drawn, leaving the individuals of human laws to their infinite and horrible confusion.



The law eternal is thus defined by Thomas: [b] *Lex æterna est æternus divinæ sapientiæ conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso præcognitarum;* "The eternal law is the eternal conceit of God's wisdom, "as it is referred to the government of things foreknown "by himself." Or, [c] *Lex æterna est summa atque æterna ratio divinæ sapientiæ; quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat;* "It is the high and eternal "reason of divine sapience; as it directeth all things in "such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kind of neces-"sity according to their several natures or conditions." Now the difference lieth in this; that as the same divine un-

[b] P. 2. q. 9. art. 1. [c] Th. q. 93. art. 1.

derstanding directeth all these to their proper ends, so it is called *providence*; but as it imposeth a necessity according to the natures of all things which it directeth, so it is called a *law*.

Of this eternal law Cicero took knowledge, when, in his book of laws, he wrote in this manner: *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, et ad recte faciendum impellens et a delicto avocans; quæ non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum et ad vetandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis;* "That perfect rea- "son and nature of things encouraging or impelling to "rightful actions, and calling us back from evil, did not," saith he, "then begin to be a law when it was written, but "when it had being. Being and beginning it had together "with divine understanding, and therefore a true law and "a fit princess to command and forbid, is the right reason "of the most high God." This eternal law (if we consider it in God, or as God) is always one and the same, the nature of God being most simple; but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man finds it diverse and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stability of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent, another law to men, another to other creatures having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternal law all things are directed, as by the counsel and providence of God; from this law all laws are derived, as from the rule universal; and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

[d]The eternal and the divine law differ only in consideration; the eternal directing more largely, as well every creature to their proper and natural ends, as it doth man to his supernatural; but the divine law to a supernatural end only; the natural law thence derived is but an effect of the eternal, as it were a stream from this fountain.

The law human or temporal is also thence drawn, in that

[d] Tho. et Aug.

it hath the form of right reason; from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*, "a wicked imposition," and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternal law all things are subjected, as well angels and men, as all other creatures, or things created; whether necessary or contingent, natural or moral, and human. For the law eternal runneth through all the universal, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, natural, and inanimate.

Hence it is that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Director; as, [e] *Praise him, all ye his angels: praise ye him, sun and moon, all bright stars, heavens of heavens, for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not pass. Praise ye the Lord from the earth, ye dragons, and all depths: fire, and hail; snow, and vapours; stormy winds which execute his word: mountains, and hills; fruitful trees, and all cedars: beasts, and all cattle,* &c. Now as the reasonable creatures are by this eternal law bound by the glory and felicity proposed unto them, (beatitude being both the attractive and the end,) so all other natural things and creatures have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense and natural instinct; things without life by their created form, or formal appetites; as that which is heavy, to fall downward, things light, to mount upward, &c. and fire, to heat whatsoever is apposed. This kind of working the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature, others to fate; a difference used in terms only; it being no other than God's general providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia;* so are all things which appear in themselves thence derived, thereunder subjected, thencefrom by his eternal law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures in heaven and in earth.

The schoolmen are very curious and ample in the consideration of these laws; and in discourse of the profit, and

[e] Psalm cxlviii.

of the matter and object of the eternal law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thencefrom either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them; so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to St. Augustine, [f] *Lex æterna est, qua justum est ut omnia sint ordinatissima;* "The law eternal is that, whereby it is just that all things "should be disposed in the best and goodliest order."

Lastly, It is disputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no? but the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which St. Augustine useth a sufficient argument in his first book of Free Will, the sixth chapter. For the law of Moses, which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last until the time of the pedagogy of God's people, or introduction to Christ, should be expired; which time of expiration some think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the cross he said, [g] *Consummatum est.* But I rather think these words of our Saviour to have no other signification, than that now the prophecy of their giving him vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For so St. John expounds it, when he saith, ver. 28. *That Christ seeing all* [*other*] *things to be fulfilled,* ut consummaretur scriptura, *that the scripture* in this also *might be fulfilled, said, I thirst;* though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremonial, and of so much of the judicial as appertained peculiarly to the Jews, and agreeth not with the law of the New Testament and gospel of Christ. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in itself; but the things prescribed change according to this eternal ordinance, of which the Wisdom of Solomon, *And being one she can do all things, and remaining in herself reneweth all.*

SECT. VI.

Of the law of nature.

OF the law of nature, as it is taken in general, I find no

[f] L. 1. de lib. arb. c. 6. [g] John xix. 30. Psalm lxix. 21.

definition among the schoolmen; only as it is considered in man, it is called, "The impression of divine light, and a "participation of the eternal law in the reasonable crea-"ture;" [h] *Lex naturalis est impressio divini luminis in nobis, et participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura.* [i] Ulpian defines the natural law to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures: *Jus naturale est quod natura omnia animalia docuit;* and he afterwards addeth, *Jus istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quæ terra marique nascuntur, avium quoque commune est;* "The law of nature is not proper to man alone, "but the same is common to all living creatures, as well "to birds, as to those which the land and sea produceth." But this definition is not general, but of the natural law in things of life.

The law of nature in general, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, enlightening our formal reason; so is it more than sense in beasts, and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to fly from the enemies of their lives; seeing that bulls and horses appear unto the sense more fearful and terrible than the least kind of dogs; and yet the hare and deer feed by the one, and fly from the other, yea, though by them never seen before, and that as soon as they fall from their dams. Neither is it sense which hath taught other beasts to provide for winter, birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons; or the birds of India to make their nests on the smallest twigs which hang over rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elsewhere, to save their eggs and young ones from the monkeys, and other beasts, whose weight such a twig will not bear; and which would fear to fall into the water. The instances

[h] Aug. in Epist. ad Hil. 89. et in Evang. Joh. tract. 49. [i] Ulp. de Justitia et Jure, l. 1. tit. 1.

in this kind are exceeding many, which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the palmitto, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in sight. But this they do by that law, which the infinite and unsearchable wisdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In man this law is double, corrupt and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reason of man hath made itself subject, and a vassal to passions and affections brutal; and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of law. For it was not by the law of nature incorrupt, which [k] St. Augustine calleth the law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the Germans did anciently allow of theft, and that other nations were by law constrained to become idolaters; that by the laws of [l] Lycurgus it was permitted to men to use one another's wife, and to the women to choose them others besides their husbands, to beget them with child; which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The [m] Scythians, and the people of both Indies, hold it lawful to bury with them the best beloved wives; as also they have many other customs remembered by G. Valentia, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these laws some men avow to be natural, except it be of this corrupt nature; as, among others, to pay guile with guile; to become faithless among the faithless; to provide for ourselves by another man's destruction; that injury is not done to him that is willing; to destroy those whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural laws either out of [n] St. Augustine or Aquinas, (the one calling it *the impression of divine light;* the other, *the dictate*, or sentence, *of practick reason*,) the same can teach us or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of justice and uprightness;

[k] Supra, §. 4. ex loco ad Rom. vii. 23.

[l] Theod. l. 9. de curandis affect. Græcorum.

[m] Acosta.

[n] Nemo jure naturæ cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet.

and not to offer or perform any thing towards others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed towards ourselves. For such is the law of nature to the mind, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to [o] David sheweth us good, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end, which is eternal life; though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of God's divine light in men, and a participation of the law increated and eternal. For without any law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within ourselves, sufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for ourselves. [p] *For when the Gentiles*, saith St. Paul, *which have not the law, do by nature those things contained in the law, they having not the law, are a law unto themselves.* Now, to love God, by whom we are, and to do the same right unto all men which we desire should be done unto us, is an effect of the purest reason; in whose highest turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her restingplace and habitation: *In arce altissima rationis quies habitat.* Therefore the Gentiles, saith St. Paul, [q] *which shew the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their consciences for witnesses of those effects; and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.*

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himself, (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the advantage of hypocrisy,) worketh nothing else but the betraying of his own soul by crafty unrighteousness, purchasing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us not, to hide our corrupt hearts from the world's eye, seeing from him who is an infinite eye we cannot hide them; some garlands we may gather in this May-game of the world; *sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arescit;* "those flowers wither while we discourse

[o] Psalm iv. [p] Rom. ii. 14. [q] Rom. ii. 15.

" of their colours," or are ingathering them. That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within ourselves, and become fearful witnesses of our secretest evils, did that reverend philosopher Pythagoras teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipsum;* " Commit nothing foul or dis-" honest," saith he, " neither to be known to others, nor to " thine own heart, but above all men reverence thine own " conscience." And this may be a precept of nature and right reason; by which law, men, and all creatures and bodies, are inclined to those operations which are answerable to their own form, as fire to give heat. Now, as the reasonable mind is the form of man, so is he aptly moved to those things which his proper form presenteth unto him, to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason are the acts of virtue; and in the breach of the rules of this reason is man least excusable, as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The earth performeth her office, according to the law of God in nature; for it bringeth forth the bud of the herb which [r] seedeth seed, &c. and the beast which liveth thereon. He gave a law to the seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds, which they obey. [s] *He made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the sun to move, and to give light, and to serve for signs and for seasons.* Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once break the law of their natures and forms, the whole world would then perish, and all return to the first chaos, darkness and confusion.

By this natural law, or law of human reason, did Cain perceive his own wickedness and offence, in the murder of Abel; for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of men; it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others

[r] Gen. i. [s] Job xxviii.

might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing was put into our natures by God and his eternal law, before the law written, Moses, in the person of God, witnesseth, Gen. iv. 7. *If thou do well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou do not well, sin lieth at thy door.*

The schoolmen are large also in this question of the natural law, the same being opened amply by Reinerius, Antoninus, and Valentia. But it is not my purpose to write a volume of this subject.

But this law which Thomas Aquinas calleth *an act of reason taken properly*, and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practick reason; they divide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration; (as that good is to be followed, and evil eschewed;) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved out of higher and more universal propositions. Again, as it answereth the natural appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as evil; (as of the first, to desire to live, and to satisfy hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew pains, sorrow, and death;) in this consideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. [t] For in every man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of natural law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire both to live, and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them; for the father after his death lives in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable laws of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their issue when they cannot in themselves. And as man is a being, *ens* or *res;* so he doth desire good and shun evil. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to desire their own good. And so is good defined by [u] Aristotle to be that

[t] Tho. q. 94. art. 2. [u] Ethic. l. 1. c. 1.

which all desire. Which definition Basil, upon the 44th Psalm, approveth: *Recte quidem bonum definierunt, quod omnia expetunt;* "Rightly have some men defined good "or goodness, to be that which all things desire."

The second kind of appetite is of those things which appertain to us, as we have sense. Whence, by the law of nature, we desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation as may neither glut us with satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For as sense itself is for the preservation of life and being; so is it meet, even by the law of nature, that the sensitive appetite should not carry us to the destruction either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) we may well say, that nature hath given divers laws unto them; in which sense the civilians define natural right, or *jus naturale*, to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures; yet the schoolmen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a law, but only a *jus*, or right, which is the matter and aim of every law. For so they distinguish it, where Ulpian affirmeth, that *jus naturale* is that which nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place, saith Valentia, *jus* is not to be taken for a law, but for the matter of the law. And yet where Ulpian also distinguisheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *jus naturæ*, the other *jus gentium*; the divines understand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason, both in beasts and men; and restrain the law of nations to a kind of human right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to man, as he is a living creature reasonable; as well with relation to God, and to our neighbour, as for ourselves; and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our religion.

Now although there are many other branches and divisions of this law of nature, answering the division of matter which it prescribeth, and as manifold as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the law of

nature but one law, according to Aquinas; first, because it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary; secondly, because all is contained in that general natural precept, that good is to be followed, and ill avoided; and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest; and chiefly man, because he is endued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of nature increaseth: [x] *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit;* "When reason grew to perfection, then it "came to pass which was written by St. Paul, *when the com-* "*mandment came, sin revived.*" Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which break the same are said by St. Paul [y] *to be delivered over unto a reprobate sense,* (or mind,) *to do those things which are not convenient;* and again, [z] *that their consciences bear witness, and their thoughts accuse them.* For though this law of nature stretch not to every particular, as to command fasting and the like, yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right reason. And therefore said Damascene; [a] *Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est:* "Men," saith he, "are made evil, by declining unto that which is con- "trary to nature:" and St. Augustine, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est;* "Every vice doth "wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it."

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so strait, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are born lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit; by taking from the evil, and giving to the good; and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves; according to the rules of justice and equity.

[x] Basil. [y] Rom. i. 28. [z] Rom. ii. 15. [a] Lib. 2. Fid. Orthod. c. 30.

And though the law of nature command that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes, this her law she suffereth to be broken; as to deny a madman his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the universal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable; who, according to [b]St. Paul, *abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself.*

SECT. VII.

Of the written law of God.

AFTER the eternal and natural, the law positive or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds; divine and human. Again, the divine positive law is double, the old and new; the old was given unto Moses in mount Sinai, or Horeb, at such time as the world had stood 2513 whole years, and in the sixty-seventh day of this year, when as [c] Ascatades, or Ascades, governed the Assyrians; Marathus, the Sicyonians; Triopas, the Argives; Cecrops, Attica; and Acherres, Egypt; to wit, after the promise to Abraham 430 years. And this, it seems, was the first written law which the world received. For the very word νόμος, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the Grecians, no not in Homer's time, who lived after the fall of Troy eighty years at least; and Troy itself was cast down 335 years after Moses led Israel out of Egypt. This law it pleased God to engrave in stone, that it might remain a lasting book of his expressed will in the church, and that the priests and people might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of Christ; and that so these children of Israel, though bred among an idolatrous people in Egypt, might be without excuse; the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason known to us why this law was not written before is, that when the people were few, and their lives long, the elders of families might easily, without any written

[b] 2 Tim. ii. 13. [c] Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 18.

law, instruct their own children; and yet as they increased, so doubtless they had, besides the law of nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good and evil; nor condemn every sin in particular; nor sufficiently terrify the consciences of offenders; nor so expound divine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural law; in these respects it was necessary that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men; which before they might, but would not read in their own consciences. The schoolmen, and the fathers before them, enlarge the causes and necessity why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of David; *The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting souls; the testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to children.* For the human law, saith St. Augustine, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit; but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore by David it is called undefiled.

Secondly, It serveth for the direction of our minds. For the laws of men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will; and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one than in the other. And therefore were the words *converting our souls* added by David; wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the cabalists: *Actiones hominum nullæ essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur;* "The actions of men," say they, "would be none at all, "were they not first conceived in the mind."

Thirdly, It leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which, by reason of diversity of opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among sundry nations, we cannot be assured of; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without error; and

therefore also said David, *That the testimony of the law of God is faithful; giving wisdom to children.*

SECT. VIII.

Of the unwritten law of God, given to the patriarchs by tradition.

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, between the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appear. For the patriarchs of the first age received many precepts from God himself, and whatsoever was first imposed by Adam, the same was observed by Seth, who instructed Enos; from whom it descended to Noah, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. Yea many particular commandments afterwards written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by tradition; which kind of teaching the Jews afterwards called *cabala*, or *receptio*, precepts received from the mouth of their priests and elders; to which the Jews, after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserved in the bosoms of their priests, and unlawful to be uttered to the people. But the true *cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the divine law revealed to the patriarchs, and from them delivered to the posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The commandments which God gave unto Adam in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding they were sufficiently known. For finding the reason of his own name Adam, of *adamah*, *earth*, or *red clay*, he gave other names significant, not only to beasts, but to his children and nephews, which afterwards his issues imitated; as the name of Seth signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the church, or rather, one given in recompense for Abel that was slain; and Enosh signifieth *man*, or *miserable*, &c. Further, God commanded Adam to till the ground, and to live by the labour thereof; God also gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in Adam also was mar-

riage first instituted; all men thenceafter being commanded to cohabit with their wives, rather than with their father and mother.

That murder and cruelty was also forbidden both before the law written, and before the flood itself, it is manifest; God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankind by the general flood. For God said unto Noah, *An end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with cruelty through them; and behold I will destroy them* [d] *from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all that perished; God's mercy and justice interposing between the untaught and revenge.

This commandment God repeated to Noah, after the waters were dried up from the earth. [e] *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reverencing our parents was observed among the faithful, and the contrary punished by the father's curse; as, [f] *Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* Again, we find that the unnatural sin of the Sodomites was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from heaven. The sin of adultery and ravishment was before the law no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge taken for [g] Dinah's forcing; and by the judgment which [h] Judah gave against Tamar, That she should be burnt; and by the repentance of Pharaoh and Abimelech, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a man's wife.* To these we may add the ordinance of sacrifice, of distinction of clean and unclean beasts, of circumcision, of the brother to raise

[d] The common reading is *cum terra:* but God did not destroy the earth; and why may not this preposition in this place have the same force which it hath, according to Junius, Gen. iv. 1. item xliv. 4. and Deut. xxxiv. 1. especially seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, ver. 7. *Delebo hominem de superficie terræ.*

[e] Gen. ix. 6.

[f] Gen. ix. 25.

[g] Gen. xxxiv. 25.

[h] Gen. xxxviii. 24.

up seed to his brother, that left a widow childless, and divers other constitutions, partly moral and partly ceremonial, which being delivered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this divine law imposed, of which the law of Moses containeth that which is called the Old Testament, may be said, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in stone, but also in substance, to have been given in precept to the patriarchs. For as St. Paul witnesseth of himself, *I knew not sin, but by the law;* so the law ever naturally preceded and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten law; the angels intuitively; men by reason; beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or perception.

SECT. IX.

Of the moral, judicial, and ceremonial law, with a note prefixed, How the scripture speaketh not always in one sense, when it nameth the law of Moses.

NOW as the word *law* in general, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restrain; so this law, called the *law of Moses* in particular, is taken by St. Paul diversely; as sometimes for all the Old Testament, as, [i] *Now we know whatsoever the law saith, it saith to them which are under the law.*

When it is opposed, or differenced from the prophets and psalms, it is there taken for the five books of Moses. For so St. Luke hath distinguished them; as, [k] *All must be fulfilled, which are written of me in the law, in the prophets, and in the psalms.*

When it is opposed to the gospel, then it is taken for the law moral, ceremonial, and judicial; as, [l] *Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law.*

[i] Rom. iii. 19. [k] Luke xxiv. 44. [l] Rom. iii. 28.

When it is opposed to grace, it signifieth the declaration of God's wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of law, and *summum jus;* as, [m] *For ye are not under the law, but under grace.*

When it is opposed to the truth, namely, where the ceremonies or signs are taken for the things signified; as the sacrifice for Christ, and the like; then it signifieth but shadows and figures; as, [n] *The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.*

Lastly, When it is opposed to the time of Christ's coming, it signifieth the whole policy of the Jews' commonweal; as, [o] *Before faith came, we were kept under the law,* &c. or the law of the order and institution of the Aaronical priesthood; as, *All the prophets, and the law,* or the priests, *prophesied unto John.* [p] And if the priesthood be changed, the law also, to wit, of the priesthood, must needs be changed.

The word *law* is sometimes also taken by the figure *metonymia,* for interest, authority, and empire, or for constraining force; as, [q] *The law of the Spirit of life, the law* or *the force of sin and death, the enforcements of concupiscence,* &c.

But the written law of Moses, or the law of the Old Testament, of which we now speak, is thus defined; The law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by Moses, or by him repeated, commanding holiness and justice, promising eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the law, and threatening death to those which break the law in the least. For, according to St. James, [r] *Whosoever shall keep the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition used by the schoolmen, in which both the old and new law are comprehended, is thus given: *Lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus præscribens modum necessarium ut apte pervenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est ultimus humanæ vitæ finis;* "The divine law," say they, "is

[m] Rom. vi. 14. Gal. iii. 18.
[n] John i. 17.
[o] Gal. iii. 23. Luke xvi. 16.
[p] Heb. vii. 12. and x. 1.
[q] Rom. viii. 2. and vii. 23.
[r] James ii. 10.

" the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessary " mean, whereby they may aptly attain supernatural beati- " tude, which is the last end of man's life."

The law of Moses hath three parts; moral, ceremonial, and judicial. The moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particular; as also it declareth for whose sake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord;* whereas the law of nature commands it but in general. Again, the moral law entreateth of virtue and goodness; the ceremonial of divine service and of holiness; (for external worship, and the order of hallowing ourselves unto God, is called ceremony;) and the judicial teacheth the particular government, fit for the commonwealth of the Jews, and prescribeth orders for justice and equity. And therefore was it said of St. Paul, Rom. vii. 12. *The commandment is just, holy, and good; just,* or *justice*, being referred to the judicial; *holy*, or *holiness*, to the ceremonial; *good*, or *honest*, to the moral. The judicial part is touching the government of the commonwealth of the Jews, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as, such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things of which it speaketh, to wit, sacrifice, holy things, sacraments, and observances. To sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruits of the earth; to holy things the tabernacle, temple, vessels, altars, and the like; to sacraments, circumcision, the passover, and such like. For the observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the blood and fat of beasts; or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mixed garments of linen and woollen; as also it prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper commixtions, as, *Thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an ox and an ass*, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth natural compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty even to beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man.

For so some refer these precepts; *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest, nor beat down the first buds of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring ox,* and the like, to the ceremonial law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of Moses, but it hath as yet in some respects the same power which it had before the coming of Christ. For the moral liveth still, and is not abrogated or taken away, saving in the ability of justifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worship God, and to use charity one towards another, which for ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed how this ought to be done; which power of directing by special rules and precepts of life it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both testaments to be observed; though principally for the fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The ceremonial also liveth in the things which it foresignified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body itself is represented to us. Besides, it still liveth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimony of Christ, and in that it giveth direction to the church for some ceremonies and types of holy signification, which are still expedient; though in a far fewer number than before Christ's coming, and in a far less degree of necessity.

Lastly, The judicial liveth in substance, and concerning the end and the natural and universal equity thereof.

But the moral faileth in the point of justification, the ceremonial, as touching the use and external observation, (because Christ himself is come, of whom the ceremonies were signs and shadows,) and the judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the Jews' commonweal and policy.

SECT. X.

A proposal of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

AS for that which remaineth in the general consideration

of the divine written law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the law.
2. The majesty of the Lawgiver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.
7. The end and use of the law.
8. The sense and understanding of the law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the law is sufficiently proved by St. Paul in these words; *Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment is holy, and just, and good;* which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the moral, ceremonial, and judicial.

2. The majesty of the Lawgiver is approved in all his creatures; who, as he hath given all things their lives and beings, so he only gave the law who could only give the end and reward promised, to wit, the salvation of mankind: but he gave it not to Moses immediately, but by the ministry of angels, as it is said; [s] *And the law was ordained by angels, in the hand of a mediator;* and in the Acts, *He gave the law by the ordinance of angels.*

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiving this law, is in three respects: first, In that they were prepared; secondly, In that they were a nation apart and dissevered; thirdly, In that they were the children of the promise made to Abraham. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other nations were idolaters. A nation apart and severed they were, because of God's choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God unto Abraham, and his seed; not unto his seeds, as to Esau and Jacob, but

[s] Gal. iii. 19.

to his seed, as to Jacob, or Israel singularly, of whom Christ. [t] *Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made: he saith not, To the seeds, as speaking of many, but, To thy seed, as of one, which is Christ.*

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by St. Augustine; that it was about the middle time, between the law of nature and grace; the law of nature continued from Adam to Moses; the law written in the commandments, received by Moses in the world's year 2514, continued to the baptism of John; from which time begun the law of grace, which shall continue to the world's end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of our justification; but not by itself sufficient, but as a figure of Christ in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in moral precepts. For through the passion of Christ were sins forgiven, who taketh away the sins of the world; and therefore St. Paul calleth the rudiments of the law [u] *beggarly and weak;* beggarly, as containing no grace; weak, as not able to forgive and justify. The [x] blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of an heifer, could only cleanse the body; but they were figures of Christ's blood, which doth cleanse the inward soul. [y] *For if the law could justify, then Christ died in vain.*

SECT. XI.

Of the sixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.

THE Old and New Testament differ in name, and in the mean and way proposed for attaining to salvation; as the Old by works, the New by grace; but in the thing itself, or object and remote end, they agree; which is, man's happiness and salvation.

The Old Testament, or law, or letter, or the witness of God's will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament; which is an explication of the Old; from

[t] Gal. iii. 16. [u] Gal. iv. [x] Heb. ix. [y] Gal. ii.

which the New taketh witness. Yet the New of more excellency, in that it doth more lively express, and openly and directly delineate the ways of our redemption. It is also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: [z] *In that he saith, the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the old law, though greatly extolled by the prophets, and delivered with wonderful miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable; but the New was given in a promise of an everlasting kingdom, and therefore called in the Apocalypse, a testament and gospel for ever during.

The Old Testament is called *the law*, because the first and chief part is the law of Moses, of which the prophets and psalms are commentaries, explicating that law.

The New Testament is called *the gospel*, because the first and chief part thereof is the glad tidings of our redemption; the other books, as the Epistles or letters of the apostles, and the Acts or story of the apostles, are plentiful interpreters thereof; the word εὐαγγέλιον signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or (as Homer used it) the reward given to the messenger bringing joyful news. It is also sometimes taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by Xenophon. In the scriptures it hath three significations: first, For glad tidings in general, as in Isaiah lii. 7. concerning peace; secondly, By an excellency it is restrained to signify that most joyful message of salvation, as in Luke ii. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the history of [a] Christ; and so we understand the four gospels.

Lastly, For the preaching and divulging the doctrine of Christ, as 1 Cor. ix. 14. and 2 Cor. viii. 18.

The agreement of both testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in volumes) is by Danæus comprised in these four.

In their author.

In the substance of the covenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, Christ.

In the effects, that is, in righteousness and justification.

[z] Heb. viii. 13. [a] Acts i.

In the author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one church, so was there one covenant, one adoption, and one doctrine. As the old law doth point at Christ, so doth the new law teach Christ; the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both, both tending to one and the same end, even the salvation of our souls; which, according to St. Peter, is the end of our faith. For although it be said, that Moses did promise by observing the law an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with milk and honey, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings; yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the fathers of those spiritual blessings by Christ; for by the earthly he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the fathers, notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly Jerusalem; according to this place of Heb. xi. 13. *All these died in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them afar off, and believed them, confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also St. Augustine: [b] *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena æterna promitti;* "Few," saith he, "do understand the old law; not attending that by things earthly eternal are promised." And St. Jerome: [c] *Noluit Deus pascere Judæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Judæi somniant;* "God would not feed the "Jews as beasts, with corporal gifts and riches, as themselves dream." And this may be gathered out of God's own words: *Ego sum Deus tuus, et ero vobis in Deum;* "I am thy God, and I will be your God;" for the words, *I will be your God*, prove that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gave them this promise, but in respect of the future; to wit, the safety of their souls. For as God created both body and soul, so hath he

[b] Lib. de Civitate Dei, 18. 15. [c] In Sophon. 3. 9.

of his goodness not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

The agreement between the Old and New Testament in substance infers also the agreement in foundation. For Christ is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the apostles and prophets; in whom all the promises of God, in the Old and New, are assured; the fathers having eaten the same spiritual food which we eat in our sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sin and misery, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, serveth in subordination to the gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and salvation; to which the law serving as an introduction, (for to those which acknowledge their sin and misery God sheweth his mercy and salvation,) may be said to agree with the gospel in the effects. For otherwise, if we sever the law from subordination to the gospel, the effects are very different; the one sheweth the way of righteousness by works, the other by faith; the law woundeth, the gospel healeth; the law terrifieth, the gospel allureth; Moses accuseth, Christ defendeth; Moses condemneth, Christ pardoneth; the Old restraineth the hand, the New the mind: [d] *Data est lex quæ non sanaret*, saith St. Augustine, *sed quæ ægrotantes probaret;* "The law was given, not to help, but to discover "sickness:" and St. Chrysostom, *Data est lex, ut se homo inveniret; non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quæreretur;* "The law was given that man might find and "know his own imperfection; not that his disease was "thereby holpen, but that he might then seek out the "physician." For Christ came to save the world, which the law had condemned. And as [e] Moses was but a servant, and Christ a son, so the greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the *worthiest person*, saith Cyril: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

[d] Homil. ad Rom. [e] Heb. vii.

SECT. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

THE seventh consideration is of the end and use of the law, which is to bring us to Christ; for finding no righteousness in our own works, we must seek it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end; the next and proper end of the law is to prescribe righteousness, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. [f] *Cursed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

The second end of the law is to render us inexcusable before God, who knowing so perfect a law, do not keep it; the law requiring a perfect and entire, not a broken or half obedience; but both inward and outward righteousness, and performance of duty to God and men.

The third and chief end of the law is, as hath been said, to send us to Christ and his grace, being in ourselves condemned and lost. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearful tempest, threatening eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to design and preserve the place of the church and true people of God, and to hold them in one discipline and awe, till the coming of Christ; after whom the church was to be dispersed over the whole world.

These be the ends of the moral law. The end and use of the ceremonial law is to confirm the truth of Christ and the New Testament. The use of the judicial, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we must conform ourselves.

The sense and understanding of the law is double, literal and spiritual; by the literal, we are taught the worship and service of God; by the spiritual, the figures and mystical fore-speakings of Christ.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the [g] law, the

[f] Gal. iii. 10.

[g] Gen. xlix. 10. *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come.*

same had being until the passion of Christ; before which time, and while Christ taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered upon the altar of the cross, then the Jewish sacrifices and ceremonies, which were types and figures of Christ, (Christ being the body of those shadows,) ceased to bind the consciences any longer; the mystery of our redemption being now by Christ, and in him finished. In token whereof the veil of the temple rent asunder; noting, that the ceremonial veils and shadows were now to be removed, not that the moral law of the commandments was hereby abolished, or weakened at all; otherwise than that it had not power to condemn according to the Jewish doctrine, as aforesaid. For the observing of the law was by Christ himself severely commanded; our love towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein David so much rejoiced, as he preferred the observation of the law before all that the world could yield: *In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus divitiis;* "I have "been delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches:" and again, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold and silver. This is the love of God*, saith St. John, 1 Ep. v. 3. *that we keep his commandment.* And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himself in Deuteronomy witnesseth; [h] *This commandment*, saith he, *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it us?* &c. *But the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, for to do it. Behold*, saith Moses, *I have set before thee this day life and death, good and evil; in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his ordinances, and his laws, that thou mayest live*, &c. Neither is it said

[h] Deut. xxx. 11—14. Rom. x. 6, 7, 8.

in vain, in St. Matthew xix. 17. *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata;* "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the com-"mandments:" and in St. John xii. 50. *Scio quia mandatum ejus vita æterna est;* "I know that his commandment is "life everlasting." And if this be the charity of God, or of men towards God, as St. John hath taught, to wit, that we keep his commandments; certainly he is but a liar, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to observe the word of his will with all his power. And though I confess it is not in man's ability, without the special grace of God, to fulfil the law, (Christ only as man excepted,) yet if we rightly consider the merciful care which God had of his people in those his commandments, we shall find in ourselves how we borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them from the chains of obedience, to which the word of God and divine reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our mind (greedy of liberty) proposeth to itself. *For this is the love of God that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous*, 1 John v. 3. and if we examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the balance of our consciences, it is not hard for any man to judge, by what easy persuasions we steal away from our own power, as unwilling to use it against our pleasing desires.

SECT. XIII.

Of the several commandments of the Decalogue; and that the difficulty is not in respect of the commandments, but by our default.

FOR by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we enticed to the breach of this precept? seeing every reasonable man may conceive and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinites; and that it is of necessity that by this Almighty unity all things have been caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his providence he hath also provided

for every of them, [i] *which giveth to beasts their food*, &c. there is no doubt but that they would also serve and love him only.

The second precept is the forbidding of idolatry, and worship of images; the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true: [k] *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt*; "All ill examples did spring and arise from "good beginnings." For their first erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their virtue; until, saith Lactantius, the Devil crept into them, and (having blotted out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant souls, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serve himself thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blind, deaf, dumb, and dead stocks, more worthless than the most worthless of those that, having life and reason, implore their help, which have neither; yea, of more vile prize and baser, than the basest of beasts, who have sense and estimation? for what do we thereby, saith the Wisdom of Solomon, [l] *but call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, assistance in our journeys of him that cannot go, and success in our affairs of him that hath no power?* And whether the idolater, or the block to which he prayeth, be more senseless, David maketh a doubt: [m] *For*, saith he, *they that make them are like unto them; and so are all the rest that trust in them.*

The breach of the third commandment is neither persuaded by worldly pleasure nor worldly profit, the two greatest enchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, unless the hate of good men, and God's curse, be accounted an advantage. For as our corruptest nature gives us nothing towards it, so can it satisfy no one appetite, except everlasting sorrow and hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange

[i] Psalm cxlvii. 9.
[k] Glos. in verb. Calum.
[l] Wisd. xiii. 19.
[m] Psalm cxv. 8.

custom hath the Devil brought up among men, without all subtilty of argument, or cunning persuasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornful advantage over us. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, theft gives satisfaction to need, adultery to lust, oppression to covetousness; but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irreverent abuse of God's name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, so the most savage nations of the world do not use it.

The fourth commandment, to keep the sabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burden, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, Moses teacheth in the reason of the law; as in Exod. xxiii. 12. *and in the seventh day thou shalt rest: that thine ox and thine ass may rest, and the son of thy maid, and the stranger, may be refreshed.*

The first of the second table, to honour our parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature itself hath taught us towards them, who after God gave us life and being, have begotten us and borne us, cherished us in our weak and helpless infancy, and bestowed on us the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore in the temporal and judicial ordinances, cursing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not murder; that is, thou shalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our own laws, and in effect the law of all nations, have made difference between slaughter casual and furious: *Affectio enim tua*, saith Bracton, *imponit nomen operi tuo;* "It is the affection and will that "makes the work such as it is." And certainly whosoever cannot forbear to commit murder, hath neither the grace of God, nor any use of his own will.

The third of the second table commands us from adultery. Now, if the preservation of [n] virginity have been possible for thousands of men and women, who in all ages have

[n] Nuptiæ replent terram, virginitas paradisum.

mastered their fleshly desires, and have returned chaste to the grave; it cannot be accounted a burden, to forbear the dishonour and injury which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the laws of God and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the desire of beauty and form hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill, did not himself give suck to this infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the second table is, that we shall not steal. And if that kind of violent robbery had been used in Moses's time, which many ruffians practise nowadays in England, and, to the dishonour of our nation, more in England than in any region of the world among Christians, out of doubt he would have censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speak not of the poor and miserable souls whom hunger and extreme necessity enforceth, but of those detested thieves, who, to maintain themselves lordlike, assault, rob, and wound the merchant, artificer, and labouring man, or break by violence into other men's houses, and spend in bravery, drunkenness, and upon harlots, in one day, what other men sometimes have laboured for all their lives; impoverishing whole families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this commandment might easily be observed, it would soon appear, if princes would resolve but for a few years to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that encourageth these hell-hounds. And if every man may presume to be pardoned once, there is no state or commonwealth but these men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth commandment of this second table is, the prohibition of false witness; from which if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness and a false accuser, especially in matters criminal, that the law ordained him to

suffer the same death or punishment which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten commandments forbiddeth us to covet any thing which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gain. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to observe; so esteemed by reason of our frail affections: and yet if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vain thoughts. For although it be not easy to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restrain and hinder their growing and further increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seek for grace. How the word *coveting* reacheth to all those, it is to be considered. For *concupiscentia*, according to some, *est effrænatus habendi appetitus;* "an unbridled, "or unrestrained appetite of having:" and as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse ourselves by any our natural frailty, or unadvised error; but, as I suppose, the word *concupiscence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for some urging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the latter sort; which is, *actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, quæ est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi;* "Such "passions or inclinations are unperfect acts, that is, not de- "liberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle "of a good or vicious action." And sure it may seem, that so long as we resist such motions, they harm us not; as they say, *Quamdiu refragamur, nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus;* "As long as we give "no assent unto them, it is thought by some that they hurt "us not; and that then only they hurt when we suffer "them to bear sway." But these men, as it seems, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what have been forbidden in the other; for in every commandment, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent unto evil, though it break not out into act, is forbidden; therefore, that we may know the difference between this commandment and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held, that some are

with assent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For so even the moral philosopher can tell us, that the continent man hath evil desires, but without assent; (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason;) as on the other side, the incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The evil desires, when they are accompanied with assent, are in every commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will have any thing proper to this commandment, we must needs say, that the evil desires of the continent man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridleth his evil desires be much better than he that yieldeth unto them; yet such a man, even according to the heathen philosopher, is not worthy the name of a virtuous man. For Aristotle himself makes *continentia* not to be virtue, but only a degree unto it: confessing, that though the continent man do well in bridling his evil affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the continent man the having of these evil desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a virtuous man; so we, that the having of them is a sin. Only in this we excel him here, that we are able out of divinity to give the true reason of this doctrine; which is, that every one sinneth that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil desires of the continent man, that is, of him that bridleth them, must needs be sin; seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his commandments, we witness our love towards himself; we may not safely give liberty to our vanities, by casting back upon God (who is justice itself) that he hath given us precepts altogether beyond our power, and commandments impossible for us to keep. For as he is accursed, saith St. Jerome, that avows

that the law is in all things possible to be observed; so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse;* "Accursed is he that saith that God "hath commanded things (in themselves, and not through "our fault) impossible." Now as the places are many which command us to keep the law, so is our weakness also in the scriptures laid before us; and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of ourselves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them; which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man just, David witnesseth; [o] *Enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight no flesh that liveth shall be justified.* And in 1 Kings viii. 46. *There is no man that sinneth not:* and again, [p] *Who can say, I have made my heart clean?* But seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation, let every man's conscience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can; yea, or no: for when a king gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service; if the subject neglecting the same, seek to satisfy his sovereign with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a prince will take himself to be derided therein.

SECT. XIV.

If there were not any religion, nor judgment to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be observed.

AND if we consider advisedly and soberly of the moral law, or ten commandments, which God by the hand of Moses gave unto his people, it will appear that such was his merciful providence in the choice of them, as were there neither pain nor profit adjoined to the observing or not observing of them, were there no divine power at all, nor any religion among men; yet, if we did not for our own sakes strive to observe these laws, all society of men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in this life would be taken away, and every state and commonweal in the

[o] Psalm cxliii. 2. [p] Prov. xx. 9.

world fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore these laws were not imposed as a burden, but as a blessing; to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travail; that right might be done to all men from all men; that by justice, order, and peace, we might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of freemen, and not of slaves; of civil men, and not of savages. And hereof making our human reason only judge, let us see the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these laws.

As first, What would the issue be, if we acknowledged many gods? Would not a far greater hatred, war, and bloodshed follow, than that which the difference of ceremony and diversity of interpretation hath already brought into the world, even among those nations which acknowledge one God and one Christ?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to idols, and images of gold, metal, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped but the loss of time, and an impossibility to receive thencefrom either help or comfort?

The breach of the third commandment bringeth therewith this disadvantage and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witness for him, when he may justly use his holy name.

The observing the sabbath holy, giveth rest to men and beasts; and nature herself requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our own children to scorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If murder were not forbidden and severely punished, the races of mankind would be extinguished; and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If adultery were lawful and permitted, no man could say unto himself, This is my son: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posterity, no endeavour by

virtue and undertaking to raise families; murders and poisonings between man and wife would be daily committed, and every man subject to most filthy and unclean diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perish, or live as the savages, by roots and acorns. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischief of robbery, as where Moses for lesser crimes appointed restitution fourfold, policy of state and necessity hath made it death.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all men's lives and estates from them by corruption; the wicked would swear against the virtuous, the waster against the wealthy, the idle beggar and loiterer against the careful and painful labourer; all trial of right were taken away, and justice thereby banished out of the world.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men bringeth no other profit than a distraction of mind with an inward vexation; for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitless hopes, so long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the desire of the one or the other, to wit, the wives or goods of our neighbours, we can look for no other but that ourselves shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burden of God's commandments, if there be nothing in them but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himself, did the most merciful and provident God ordain them; without the observation of which, the virtues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable and of no use. For we should remain but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

SECT. XV.

Of human law, written and unwritten.

HUMAN law, of which now it followeth to speak, is

first divided into two, viz. written and unwritten. The unwritten consists of usage, approved by time, which Isidore calls *mores;* and he defines *mores* to be *consuetudines vetustate probatæ*, to be "customs approved by antiquity," or unwritten laws. Now custom differeth from use, as the cause from the effect; in that custom is by use and continuance established into a law; but yet there, where the law is defective, saith Isidore.

And of customs there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars; the first are written customs, received and exercised by nations; as the customs of Burgundy and Normandy, the ancient general custom of England, and the customs of Castile and other provinces.

The second are these petty customs used in particular places, cities, hundreds, and manors. The general or national customs are some written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty customs are seldom written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The customs of the duchy of Cornwall, comprehending also the stannery of Devon, as touching tin, and tin causes, are written in Devon, but not in Cornwall. But howsoever use and time hath made these customs as laws, yet ought every custom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præscripta:* [q] *Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de jure ab initio non subsistit;* "That "which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not "made good by continuance of time." And, saith Ulpian, [r] *Quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis convalescere;* "Course of time amends not that which was "naught from the first beginning." For these two defences are necessary in all laws of custom; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law divine and natural; the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth and necessary continuance; it being manifest, that every custom, which is against the law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customs of this nature were but tolerated for a time by the lawmakers,

[q] In reg. jur. v. 2. q. 117. art. 1. [r] Ulp. l. 29.

though they have been since continued, because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their ancestors were thereto moved. For, *non sufficit simplex toleratio.* And it is in this sort overruled in the law: *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui novam legem, et novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est;* "The people cannot bring in a "new custom against law, save by his will who hath power "to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the "prince."

Human law generally taken, to wit, human law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practick reason; by which human actions are ruled and directed. Papinian calls the law a common precept, the advisement of wise men, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. Isidore calls the law a constitution written, agreeing with religion, fittest for government and common profit: and more largely, *omne id quod ratione consistit,* "all that stands with reason."

Lastly, and more precisely, it is thus defined; [s] Human law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the law natural and eternal; made by the rational discourse of those that exercise public authority; prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, St. Augustine teacheth, saying, *Mihi lex esse non videtur, quæ justa non fuerit;* "It seems to be no law at all to me, "which is not just;" and just it cannot be, except it agree with the law natural and eternal. For there is no law just and legitimate, saith St. Augustine, which the lawmakers have not derived from the eternal: [t] *Nihil justum atque legitimum est, quod non ab æterna lege sibi homines derivaverint.*

Secondly, It ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law natural, to wit, the natural, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law human is taken and deduced.

[s] Greg. de Val. ex Tho. q. 91. art. 3. et q. 94. art. 2.
[t] Lib. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.

Thirdly, That it ought to be made by an authorized magistracy, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kind soever. For it falleth otherwise under the title of those decrees called *violentiæ*, or *iniquæ constitutiones*; "violences," or "wicked constitutions."

Of human law there are four properties, especially answering these four conditions in the former definition. First, As it is drawn out of the law of nature; so every particular of the human law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, It is to be considered as it is referred unto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, It is to be made by public authority.

Fourthly, Concerning the matter of the law, it prescribeth and directeth all human actions. And so is the law as large and diverse, as all human actions are diverse which may fall under it. For, according to Thomas, [u] *Alia lex Julia de adulteriis, alia Cornelia de sicariis;* "The law of Julian "against adultery is one, the Cornelian against ruffians is "another." Now the human law, generally taken, is, in respect of the first of these considerations, divided into the law of nations, and the civil.

The law of nations is taken less or more properly; less properly for every law which is not of itself, but from other higher principles deduced; and so it seemeth that Ulpian understands it: for he defineth *jus gentium*, or the "law "of nations," to be that which is only common amongst men, as religion, and the worship of God; which is not in the very nature of this law of nations; but from the principles of the scriptures, and other divine revelations. But the law of nations properly taken, is that dictate, or sentence, which is drawn from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet so probable that all nations do assent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of ambassadors be granted between enemies, &c. which national law, according to divers acceptions, and divers con-

[u] Tho. q. 95. art. 2.

siderations had of the human law, may be sometimes taken for a species of the natural, sometimes of the human.

Jus civile, or the civil law, is not the same in all commonwealths, but in divers estates it is also diverse and peculiar; and this law is not so immediately derived from the law of nature as the law of nations is; for it is partly deduced out of such principles as all nations do not agree in, or easily assent unto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diverse, and do not fit all estates. Hereof Ulpian; [x] *Jus civile neque in totum a naturali et gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei servit: itaque cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, id est civile, efficimus;* "The civil law," saith he, "doth "neither wholly differ from the law of nature and nations, "nor yet in all points obey it; therefore, when we add "ought to, or take from the law that is common, we make "a law proper, that is, the civil law."

The law now commonly called the civil law had its birth in Rome; and was first written by the decemviri 303 years after the foundation of the city. It was compounded as well out of the Athenian and other Grecian laws, as out of the ancient Roman customs and laws regal. The regal laws were devised by the first kings, and called *leges regiæ*, or *Papyrianæ*, because they were gathered by Papyrius, Tarquin then reigning. For though so many of the former laws as maintained kingly authority were abolished with the name; yet those of [y] Servius Tullius, for commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to religion and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve tables. [z] To these laws of the twelve tables were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the senate, called *senatus-consulta;* those of the common people, called *plebiscita;* those of the lawyers, called *responsa prudentum*, and the edicts of the annual magistrate; which edicts being first gathered and interpreted by Julian, and presented to Adrian the emperor, they were by him confirmed

[x] In leg. 6. ff. de justitia jure.
[y] Dion. Hal.
[z] C. Sigon. l. 1. out of Pomponius.

and made perpetual laws, and the volume styled, *edictum perpetuum;* as those and the like collections of Justinian afterwards were.

The difference anciently between laws and edicts, which the French call *réglements*, consisted in this, that laws are the constitutions made or confirmed by sovereign authority, (be the sovereignty in the people, in a few, or in one,) and are withal general and permanent: but an edict (which is but *jussum magistratus*, unless by authority it be made a law) hath end with the officer who made the same, saith Varro: *Qui plurimum edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt;* "They who ascribe the most unto an edict, say "that it is a law for one year." Though Isidore doth also express by the word *constitutions*, or *edicts*, those ordinances called *acts of prerogative:* as, *Constitutio vel edictum est, quod rex, vel imperator, constituit, vel edicit;* "An ordi- "nance or edict is that which a king or emperor doth or- "dain or proclaim."

Lastly, The human law is divided into the secular, and into the ecclesiastical, or canon. The secular commanding temporal good, to wit, the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth: the ecclesiastical the spiritual good, and right government of the ecclesiastical commonwealth, or church: *Illud naturæ legem, hoc divinam spectant;* "That "respecteth the law of nature, this the law of God." And so may *jus civile* be taken two ways; first, as distinguished from the law of nations, as in the first division; secondly, as it is the same with the secular, and diverse from the ecclesiastical. But this division of the schoolmen is obscure: for although the civil be the same with the secular, as the civil is a law; yet the secular is more general, and comprehendeth both the civil and all other laws not ecclesiastical. For of secular laws, in use among Christian princes, and in Christian commonweals, there are three kinds; the civil, which hath every where a voice, and is in all Christian estates (England excepted) most powerful; the laws of England called common, and the laws of custom or provincial. In Spain, besides the law civil, they have the cus-

toms of Castile, and other provinces. In France, besides the civil, the customs of Burgundy, Bloys, Berry, Nivernois, and Lodunois, &c. [a] *Tous lieux situés et assis en Lodunois, seront gouvernez selon les costumes du dit pays;* "All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois shall be "governed according to the customs of that place." There are also in France the customs of Normandy, and these of two kinds, general and local; and all purged and reformed by divers acts of the three estates. The charters of confirmation of these ancient customs, before and since their reformation, have these words: *Nos autem registrum prædictum, usus laudabiles, et consuetudines, antiquas,* &c. *laudamus, approbamus, et authoritate regia confirmamus;* "The register aforesaid, laudable use, and ancient cus-"toms, we praise, approve, and by our kingly authority "confirm." The common law of England is also compounded of the ancient customs of the same, and of certain maxims by those customs of the realm approved. Upon which customs also are grounded those courts of record, of the chancery, king's bench, common pleas, and exchequer, with other small courts.

These ancient customs of England have been approved by the kings thereof, from age to age; as that custom by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the law of the land, was confirmed by the statute of Magna Charta. It is by the ancient custom of England, that the eldest son should inherit without partition; in Germany, France, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In Ireland it is the custom for all lands, (that have not been resigned into the king's hands,) that the eldest of the house shall enjoy the inheritance during his own life; and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the heir in lineal descent; this is called the custom of *tanistry*. For example, If a lord of land have four sons, and the eldest of those four have also a son, the three brothers of the eldest son shall, after the death of their brother,

[a] Art. 3. tit. 5. G. Cust.

enjoy their father's lands before the grandchild; the custom being grounded upon the reason of necessity. For the Irish in former times having always lived in a subdivided civil war, not only the greatest against the greatest, but every baron and gentleman one against another, were enforced to leave successors of age and ability to defend their own territories. Now as in Normandy, Burgundy, and other provinces of France, there are certain peculiar and petty customs, besides the great and general custom of the land; so are there in England, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulk of our laws, as I take it, are the acts of parliament; laws propounded and approved by the three estates of the realm, and confirmed by the king, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are acts of choice and self-desire: [b]*Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent quam quod judicio populi receptæ sunt;* "The "laws do therefore bind the subject, because they are re- "ceived by the judgment of the subject." [c] *Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modo institutæ, sed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis;* "It is then that human laws have their strength, when "they shall not only be devised, but by the approbation of "the people confirmed."

Isidore fasteneth these properties to every Christian law, that the same be honest, that it be possible, that it be according to nature, and according to the custom of the country; also for the time and place convenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He also gives four effects of the law, which Modestinus comprehends in two; to wit, obligation and instigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice; the latter encourageth with hope, to follow virtue. For, according to Cicero, *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum;* "It behoveth "the law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of vir- "tues." The part obligatory, or binding us to the observa-

[b] Ulp. ff. de Leg. Leg. 32.
[c] Aug. de vera relig. cap. 31. Gratian. in dec. dist. 4. cum in istis.

tion of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all laws; and it is twofold, the one constraineth us by fear of our consciences, the other by fear of external punishment. These two effects the law performeth by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, coactive and directive.

The second of these two effects remembered by Modestinus, is instigation, or encouragement to virtue, as Aristotle makes it the end of the law, to make men virtuous. For laws being such as they ought to be, do, both by prescribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing; laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter, and in which David comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof; saying, [d] *Declina a malo et fac bonum;* "Decline from evil, and "do good."

SECT. XVI.

That only the prince is exempt from human laws, and in what sort.

NOW whether the power of the human law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject, as well divines as lawyers; and namely, whether sovereign princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforesaid, the one directive, the other coactive: to the power directive they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to give a prejudicial judgment against himself: and if equals have not any power over each other, much less have inferiors over their superiors, from whom they receive their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of laws, simply then is the prince so much above the laws, as the soul and body united is above a dead and senseless carcass. For the king is truly called *jus vivum et lex animata;* "an animate and "living law." But this is true, that by giving authority

[d] Psalm xxxvii.

to laws, princes both add greatness to themselves, and conserve it, and therefore was it said of Bracton, out of Justinian: *Merito debet rex tribuere legi, quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipse sit rex;* "Rightfully ought the king "to attribute that to the law, which the law first attribut- "eth to the king; for it is the law that doth make kings."

But whereas [e] Bracton ascribeth this power to the human law, he is therein mistaken. For kings are made by God, and laws divine; and by human laws only declared to be kings. As for the places remembered by the divines and lawyers, which infer a kind of obligation of princes, they teach no other thing therein than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of virtuous princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God only.

[f] *Tibi soli peccavi,* saith David; "Against thee only "have I sinned;" therefore the prince cannot be said to be subject to the law; *Princeps non subjicitur legi:* for seeing, according to the schoolmen, the law human is but *quoddam organum et instrumentum potestatis gubernativæ: non videtur posse ejus obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humanæ non pertinet: sed vis potestatis humanæ non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neque lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa est principium transmutandi aliud:* "Seeing human law," say they, "is but a kind of organ or instrument of the power that "governeth, it seems that it cannot extend itself to bind any "one whom no human power can control or lay hold of; "but the governor himself, in whom the governing power "doth reside, is a person that cannot by himself, or by his "own power, be controlled. And therefore the law which is "made by such a power cannot bind the lawmaker himself: "for every active ability is a cause or principle of alteration "in another body," not in the body in which itself resides. And seeing princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law, [g] *Ergo etiam potest ipsemet princeps sive legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis*

[e] Bract. l. 2. [f] Psal. l. ff. de leg. [g] Greg. de Valentia de leg.

liberare; "Therefore also may a prince or lawmaker at his "own will and pleasure deliver himself from the bond of the "law." Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis, princeps vero sola voluntate sua, et intuitu boni communis;* "The subjects are bound to fulfil the law by "necessity of compulsion, but the prince only by his own "will, and regard of the common good."

Now concerning the politic laws, given by Moses to the nation of the Israelites, whether they ought to be a precedent, from which no civil institutions of other people should presume to digress, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, that we ought not to seem wiser than God himself, who hath told us, that there are no laws so righteous as those which it pleased him to give to his elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all nations have their several qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no less than in their peculiar languages; which disagreeable conditions to govern aptly one and the same law very hardly were able. The Roman civil laws did indeed contain in order a great part of the then known world, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was received and become familiar; yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural customs of the sundry people which it governed. For whether it be through a long continued persuasion, or (as astrologers more willingly grant) some influence of the heavens, or peradventure some temper of the soil and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice, (as plenty made the Sybarites luxurious; want, and opportunity to steal, makes the Arabians to be thieves,) very hard it were to forbid by law an offence so common with any people, as it wanted a name whereby to be distinguished from just and honest. By such rigour was the kingdom of Congo unhappily diverted from the Christian religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great fury re-

jected, because plurality of wives was denied unto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, methinks, it were not amiss to consider, that the high God himself permitted some things to the Israelites, rather in regard of their natural disposition, (for they were hardhearted,) than because they were consonant unto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where even the general nature of man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjust, there may the law given by Moses worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the evil, which forceth man, as near as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with so long and so public approbation, that the virtue opposing it would seem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in England, or to wear the English fashion of apparel in Turkey; there may a wise and upright lawgiver, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of Moses's law required; even as the good king Hezekiah did, in a matter merely ecclesiastical, and therefore the less capable of dispensation, praying for the people; [h] *The good Lord be merciful unto him that prepareth his whole heart to seek God, the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary:* which prayer the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well observed by Master Dr. Willet, that the moral judicials of Moses do partly bind, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively that we are tied to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where sentence of death is not given by Moses: Christian magistrates ruling under Christ the [i] *Prince of peace*, that is, of clemency and mercy, may abate of the severity of Moses's law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot add unto it, to make the burden more heavy; for to shew more rigour than Moses becometh not the gospel.

[h] 2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19. [i] Isaiah ix.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the subject of many learned discourses, neither will I take upon me to speak any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controversy among worthy divines. Thus much (as in honour of the judicial law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath always been very plausible. And surely, howsoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a general and only law, yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a judge may rest with equal satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giving sentence upon doubts, arising out of any law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that judge could have been witness, of whom Fortescue, that notable bulwark of our laws, doth speak, complaining of a judgment given against a gentlewoman at Salisbury, who being accused by her own man, without any other proof, for murdering her husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes; the man who accused her, within a year after being convict of the same offence, confessed that his mistress was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he then (though over-late) grievously lamented: but this judge, saith the same author, [k] *Sæpius ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum ejus de hoc facto ipse purgaret;* "He "himself often confessed unto me, that he should never, "during his life, be able to clear his conscience of that "fact." Wherefore that acknowledgment which other sciences yield unto the metaphysics, that from thence are drawn propositions, able to prove the principles of sciences, which out of the sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other politic institutions, to that of Moses; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the metaphysics, which is, *ens quatenus ens*, "being as it is being," is infinitely inferior to the *ens entium*, "the being of beings," the only good, the fountain of truth, whose fear is the beginning of wisdom. To which purpose well saith St. Augustine, *Conditor legum tempora-*

[k] Isaiah v. 3.

lium si vir bonus est et sapiens, illam ipsam consulit æternam, de qua nulli animæ judicare datum est; "The au-
"thor of temporal laws, if he be good and wise, doth
"therein consult the law eternal, to determine of which
"there is no power given to any soul." And as well prince Edward, in Fortescue's discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus;* "No
"man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord
"hath laid."

CHAP. V.

The story of the Israelites from the receiving of the law to the death of Moses.

SECT. I.

Of the numbering and disposing of the host of Israel, for their marches through the wilderness; with a note of the reverence given to the worship of God in this ordering of their troops.

WHEN Moses had received the law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the tabernacle of the ark and sanctuary, he mustered all the tribes and families of Israel; and having seen what numbers of men, fit to bear arms, were found in every tribe, from twenty years of age upwards, he appointed unto them, by direction from the Lord, such princes and leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every tribe most eminent. The number of the whole army was 603,550 able men for the wars, besides women and children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of Egypt. This great army was divided by Moses into four gross and mighty battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole tribes.

The first of these containing 186,400 able men, consisted of three regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called armies; as containing the three whole tribes of Judah, Issachar, and Zabulon. In the tribe of Judah were 74,600 fighting men, led by Naason; in Issachar 54,400, led by Nethaneel; in Zabulon 57,400,

led by Eliab. All these marched under the standard of the tribe of Judah, who held the vanguard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general encamping on the east side of the army; which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second battalion, or army, called in the scriptures the host of Reuben, had joined unto it Simeon and Gad, in number 151,450: all which marched under the standard of Reuben. In the tribe of Reuben were 46,500, under Elizur; in Simeon 59,300, under Shelumiel; in Gad 45,650, under Eliasaph. These had the second place, and encamped on the south side of the tabernacle.

The third army marched under the standard of Ephraim, to whom were joined the regiments of Manasseh and Benjamin; who joined together, made in number 108,100 able men. These marched in the third place, encamping on the west quarter of the tabernacle. Ephraim had 40,500, under Elishama; Manasseh 32,200, under Gamaliel; Benjamin 35,400, under Abidam.

The fourth and last army, or squadron, of the general army, containing 157,600 able men, marched under the standard of Dan; to whom were joined the two tribes of Nephtali and Asher. And these had the rereward, and moved last, encamping on the north side. Dan had 62,700, under Ahiezer; Asher 41,500, under Pagiel; Nephtali 53,400, under Ahira.

Besides these princes of the several tribes, there were ordained captains over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens; as it may appear by that mutiny and insurrection against Moses, Numbers xvi. 1, 2. *For there arose up against Moses two hundred and fifty captains of the assembly, famous in the congregation, and men of renown;* of which number were Korah, Datham, and Abiram. Which three principal mutiners, with those 250 captains that followed them, were not any of the twelve princes of the tribes, or general colonels before spoken of, as by their names, Numbers i. is made manifest.

The blessing which Israel gave to his children took place,

not only in the division of the land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following, but even in sorting them under their several standards in the wilderness it was observed. For Judah had the precedency and the greatest army, which also was wholly compounded of the sons of Leah, Jacob's wife. Reuben having lost his birthright, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother Simeon, who had undergone his father's curse; and with Gad, the son of his mother's handmaid. Joseph, who in temporal blessings had the prerogative of the first-born, a double portion, was accounted as two tribes, and divided into two regiments; the younger (according to Jacob's prophecy) taking place before the elder. He was assisted by Benjamin, his best beloved brother, the other son of Rachel. To Dan, the eldest son of Jacob's concubines, was given the leading of the fourth army, according to Jacob's prophecy. He had with him under his standard none of the children of Leah, or Rachel, but only the sons of the handmaids.

In the middle of these four armies was the tabernacle, or portable temple of the congregation carried, surrounded by the Levites. Near unto which, as the heathens and pagans could not approach, by reason of these four powerful armies which guarded the same; so was it death for any of the children of Israel to come near it, who were not of the Levites, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the moveable temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22,000 persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof; of which 8,580 had the peculiar charge, according to their several offices and functions, the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of Numbers. And as the armies of the people observed the former order in their encampings, so did the Levites quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the tabernacle; the Geshurites on the west, within the army and standard of Ephraim, over whom Eliasaph commanded, in number 7,500. The family of Cohath on the south side, guided by Elizaphan, within the army of

Reuben, and between him and the tabernacle, in number 8,600. The third company were of the family of Merari, over whom Zuriel commanded, in number 6,200, and these were lodged on the north side within the army of Dan; on the east side, and next within those tribes and forces which Judah led, did Moses and Aaron lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate commanders, both of the ceremonies and of the people; under whom, as the chief of all the other Levitical families, was Eleazar the son of Aaron, his successor in the high priesthood.

This was the order of the army of Israel, and of their encamping and marching; the tabernacle of God being always set in the middle and centre thereof. The reverend care which Moses, the prophet and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the tabernacle, ark, and sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal borne towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expense in the provisions; the dutiful observance in the laying up and preserving the holy vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this superfine age, by those of *the family*, by the Anabaptist, Brownist, and other sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kind of popery, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition; insomuch as time would soon bring to pass (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of churches into barns, and from thence again into the fields and mountains, and under the hedges; and the offices of the ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all order, discipline, and church government, left to newness of opinion and men's fancies; yea, and soon after, as many kinds of religions would spring up, as there are parish churches within England; every conten-

tious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with *the Spirit of God*, and his imagination with *the gift of revelation*; insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men will soon after die away by degrees, and all religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great prince of Germany cause of this answer to those that persuaded him to become a Lutheran: *Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis; si me aliis adjungo, a vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar non habeo:* "If I adjoin myself to you, I am con-" demned by others; if I join with others, I am condemned " by you: what I should avoid I see, but I know not what " I should follow."

SECT. II.

The offerings of the twelve princes; the passover of the second year; the departing of Jethro.

NOW when Moses had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the laws, numbered his army, and divided them into the battles and troops before remembered, and appointed them leaders of all sorts; the twelve princes, or commanders of the tribes, brought their [l] offerings before the Lord, to wit, six covered chariots, and twelve oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the sanctuary excepted; which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the sons of Korah, to whom the charge was committed; and the chariots, in which were conveyed the other parts of the tabernacle and vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the Levites for that service; namely, to the sons of Gershan and Merari.

Besides these chariots, each of these commanders, princes, or heads of tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the temple, a charger of fine silver, weighing 130 [m] shekels;

[l] Numb. vii.

[m] The Hebrew gerah weigheth sixteen grains; so a gerah of silver is about three halfpence sterling: the

a silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary; and an incense cup of gold of ten shekels, which they performed at the same time when the altar was dedicated unto God by Aaron, and before they marched from Sinai towards their conquest; besides the beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve silver chargers, and twelve silver bowls, amounted unto 2400 shekels of silver; and the weight of gold in the incense cups to 120 shekels of gold; which makes of shekels of silver 1200, every shekel of gold valuing ten of silver; so that the whole of gold and silver which they offered at this time was about 420*l.* sterling. This done, Moses, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the passover; which they performed on the fourteenth day of the second month of the second year; and on the twentieth day of the same the cloud was lifted up from above the tabernacle, as a sign of going forward, Moses beginning his march with this invocation to God, *Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee fly before thee.* Then all the people of Israel removed from their encamping at the foot of the mountain Sinai towards Paran; the army or great squadron of Judah, led by Naashon, taking the vanguard, followed by Nethaneel and Eliab, leaders of the tribes of Issachar and Zabulon; after whom the rest marched as in the figure expressed. And because the passage through so many deserts and mountains was exceeding difficult, Moses leaving nothing unforethought which might serve for the advancement of his enterprise, he instantly entreated his father-in-law, whom in Numbers x. he calleth Hobab, to accompany them in their journey towards Canaan, promising him such part and profit of the enterprise as God should bestow on them; for this man, as he was of great understand-

shekel of the sanctuary (as it is expounded Exod. xxx. 13.) containeth twenty gerahs, so a sanctuary shekel of silver is about seven groats; the common shekel is but half so much, to wit, ten gerahs, as it is usually expounded; though Villalpandus labours to prove, that the common and the sanctuary shekel were all one. Numb. ix. 5. Numb. x. 11. Exod. xl. 34. Numb. ix. 17.

ing and judgment, (as appeared by the counsel he gave to Moses for the appointing of judges over the people,) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himself inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at Midian, or Madian; and (as it seemeth) a man of great years and experience, for he was then the priest or prince of Madian, when Moses fled first out of Egypt, and married his daughter; which was forty-two years before this request made. And though Moses himself had lived forty years in these parts of Arabia, through which he was now to travel; yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of souls, which could not be so few as a million, it was necessary to use many guides and many conductors. To this request of Moses it may seem by the places, Exod. xviii. 27. and Numb. x. 30. that Jethro, otherwise called Hobab, yielded not; for it is evident, [n] that he went back from Moses into his own country. But because it appeareth by other places of scripture, that the posterity of this Hobab was mingled with the Israelites; it is most likely that this his return to his own country was rather to fetch away his family, and to take his leave of his own country, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

SECT. III.

The voyage from Horeb to Kades; the mutinies by the way; and the cause of their turning back to the Red sea.

AFTER this dismission of Hobab, Israel began to march towards the deserts of Paran; and after three days wandering, they sat down at the sepulchres of lust, afterward called Tabeera, or Incensio; by reason that God consumed with fire those mutiners and murmurers which rose up in this remove, which happened about the twenty-third day of the same month. And from this twenty-third day of the second month of the second year, they rested, and fed themselves with quails (which it pleased God by a sea-wind to cast upon them) to the twenty-fourth day of the third

[n] Judg. i. 16. and iv. 11. also 1 Sam. xv. 6. and 2 Reg. x. 15. 1 Chron. ii. 55. Jer. xxxv.

month, to wit, all the month of Sinan, or June, whereof surfeiting, there died great numbers; from whence in the following month, called Thamus, answering to our July, they went on to Hazeroth; where [o] Miriam the sister of Moses was stricken with the leprosy, which continued upon her seven days, after whose recovery Israel removed toward the border of Idumæa, and encamped at Rithma, near Kades Barnea, from whence Moses sent the twelve discoverers into the territory of Canaan; both to inform themselves of the fertility and strength of the country, as also to take knowledge of the ways, passages, rivers, fords, and mountains. For Arad king of the Canaanites surprised divers companies of the Israelites, by lying in ambush near those ways, through which the discoverers and searchers of the land had formerly passed. Now after the return of the discoverers of Kades, the wrath of God was turned against [p] Israel; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliverance from the [q] Egyptian slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible wilderness, (for so Moses calleth it,) with the [r] victory which he gave them against the powerful Amalekites, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on and preserved them, but to bring them, their wives, and children to be slaughtered, and given for a prey and spoil to the Amorites or Canaanites. For it was reported unto them, by the searchers of the land, that the cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong towers and castles; that many of the people were giant-like, (for they confessed that they saw the sons of Anak there,) who were men of fearful stature, and so far overtopped the Israelites, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as grasshoppers in their respect. Now as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a captain (or as they call it nowadays, an *electo*) to carry them back again into Egypt; so did God punish the

[o] Numb. xi. xii. and xiii. [p] Numb. xxi. [q] Deut. i. 19. [r] Deut. i. 27.

same in a greater measure than any of the former. For he extinguished every soul of the whole multitude, (Joshua and Caleb excepted,) who being confident in God's promises, persuaded the people to enter Canaan, being then near it, and at the mountain foot of Idumæa, which is but narrow, laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of victory. But, as men whom the passion of fear had bereaved both of reason and common sense, [s] they threatened to stone these encouragers to death, accounting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren to their enemies: but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the fear of his bright glory between the unadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence; threatening an entire destruction of the whole nation, by sending among them a [t] consuming and merciless pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion which they had made, since God delivered them from the slavery of the Egyptians. But [u] Moses (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies; alleging that this so severe a judgment, how deservedly soever inflicted, would increase the pride of the heathen nations, and give them occasion to vaunt that the God of Israel failing in power to perform his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitless deserts. Yet as God is no less just than merciful, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire, the same being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand less heavy than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity, so by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to pass unpunished, reserving his compassion for the innocent, whom, because they participated not with the offences of their fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to perform his promises, which have never been frustrate.

[s] Numb. xiv. 10. [t] Numb. xiv. 12. [u] Numb. xii. 3.

SECT. IV.

Of their unwillingness to return; with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

NOW when Moses had revealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heavy displeasure towards them, they began to bewail themselves, though overlate, the times of grace and men's repentance having also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often played and dallied with his merciful sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt, and make offer to enter the land contrary again to the advice of Moses, who assured them, that God was not now among them, and that the ark of his covenant should not move, but by his direction, who could not err; and that the enemies' sword, which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no less sharp than death, and in the hands of the Amalekites and Canaanites, no less cruel. But as men, from whom God hath withdrawn his grace, do always follow those counsels which carry them to their own destructions; so the Hebrews, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their conductors offered, and might then have entered Judæa before their enemies were prepared and joined, did afterwards, contrary to God's commandment, undertake the enterprise of themselves, and ran headlong and without advice into the mountains of Idumæa. There the Canaanites and the Amalekites being joined and attending their advantage, set on them, brake them, and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part; and following their victory and pursuit, consumed them all the way of their flight even unto Hormah: the Amalekites, in revenge of their former loss and overthrow at Raphidim; the Canaanites, to prevent their displantation and destruction threatened. Of which powerful assembly of those two nations, (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour kings, joined together for their common safety,) it pleased God to forewarn Moses, and to direct him another way than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by those painful passages

of the deserts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the Red sea again; in which retreat, before they came back to pass over Jordan, there were consumed thirty-eight years: and the whole number of the six hundredth and odd thousand, which came out of Egypt, (Moses, Joshua, and Caleb excepted,) were dead in the wilderness, the stubborn and careless generations were wholly worn out, and the promised land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600,000, and more. For besides the double fault, both of refusing to enter the land upon the return of the discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded; it seemeth that they had committed that horrible idolatry of worshipping Moloch and the host of heaven. For although Moses doth not mention it, yet [x] Amos doth, and so doth the martyr Stephen; as also that the Israelites worshipped the sun and moon in aftertimes, it is proved out of sundry other places.

Now after the broken companies were returned to the camp at Kades, Moses, according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the south from whence he came, to recover the shores of the Red sea. And so from Kades or Rithma he removed to Remmonparez, so called of abundance of pomegranates there found and divided among them. From thence he went on to Libnah, taking that name of the frankincense there found. From [y] Libnah he crossed the valley, and sat down at Ressa near the foot of the mountain. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the west, and encamped at Ceelata; where one of the Hebrews, for gathering broken wood on the sabbath, was stoned to death. After which, Moses always keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountains, (those which bound the desert of Zin, and those of Pharan,) crossed the same from Ceelata, and marched eastward to the mountain of Sapher, or Sepher; this making the twentieth mansion. From thence he passed on to Ha-

[x] Amos v. 25. Acts vii. 42. 2 Kings xvii. 16. and xxi. 3. and xxiii. 4, 5, 11. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3. Jer. xix 13, &c.

[y] Numb. xxxiii. 21.

rada, then to Maceloth, and then to Thahah, and so to Thara or Thare, the four and twentieth mansion. Where, while Moses rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; who, for their contempt of God and his ministers, were some of them swallowed up alive, and by the earth opening her mouth devoured; others, even 250 which offered incense with Korah, were consumed with fire from heaven; and 14,700 of their party, which murmured against Moses, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest marvels and judgments of God that hath been shewed in all the time of Moses's government, or before. For among so great a multitude, those laymen, who would have usurped ecclesiastical authority, were suddenly swallowed up alive into the earth with their families and goods, even while they sought to overthrow the order, discipline, and power of the church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the high priest and magistrate, to whom God had committed the government both of his church and commonweal of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleased him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant Aaron, by the twelve rods given in by the heads of the twelve tribes, of which Moses received one of every head and prince of his tribe; which being all withered and dry wands, and on every rod the name of the prince of the tribe written, and Aaron's on that of Levi; it pleased God, that the rod of Aaron received by his power a vegetable spirit, and having lain in the tabernacle of the congregation before the ark one night, had on it both buds, blossoms, and ripe almonds.

From Tharah the whole army removed to Methra, and thence to Esmona, and thence to Moseroth, (or Masurit, after St. Jerome,) and from Moseroth to Benejacan, and so to Gadgad, which Jerome calleth Gadgada, thence to Jetabata, the thirtieth mansion; where from certain fountains of water gathered in one, Adrichomius maketh a river, which falleth into the Red sea, between Madian and Ezion-gaber.

Now although it be very probable, that at Ezion-gaber, where Solomon furnished his fleets for the East Indies, there was store of fresh water; and though Herodotus, l. 3. maketh mention of a great river in Arabia the Stony, which he calleth Corys, from whence, saith he, the inhabitants convey water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the king of Arabia relieved the army of Cambyses; yet is Adrichomius greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these springs at Gadgad, or Jetabata, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth mansion. For it was at Punon that those springs are spoken of, which in Deut. x. 7. is also called Jetabata, or Jotbath, a land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the river Zared, the next adjoining. And that these springs should fall into the Red sea at Ezion-gaber, or Eloth, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in Belonius, that there are divers torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of Arabia; which, though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recover the banks of the Red sea.

From Jetabata Moses directed his journey towards the Red sea, and encamped at Hebrona; and from thence to Ezion-gaber; which city in Josephus's time had the name of Berenice, and in Jerome's, Essia. From thence keeping the sea and Eloth on his right hand, he turned towards the north, as he was by God commanded; [z] Ezion-gaber being the furthest place towards the south-east that Moses travelled in that passage.

It seemeth that Ezion-gaber, or Azion-gaber, Eloth, and Madian, were not at this time in the possession of the kings of Edom. For it is said, [a] *That the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in the mount Hor, near the coast of the land of Edom;* so as the mount Hor was at this time in the south border of Idumæa. And if Ezion-gaber, and the other places near the Red sea, had at this present been subject to the Idumeans, Moses would also have demanded a free passage through

[z] Deut. ii. [a] Numb. xx. 23.

them. It is true, that in the future the Idumeans obtained these places; for it is said, [b] *And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran, and took men with them;* which were those companies that followed young Hadad of Idumæa into Egypt, when he fled from Joab. Likewise it is said of Solomon, that he made a navy of ships in Ezion-gaber besides Eloth, in the land of Edom.

SECT. V.

Of Moses's arrival at Zin Kades; and the accidents while they abode there.

FROM Ezion-gaber he turned again towards the north, and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh; or in Beroth, of the children of Jacan, where they sat down in the first month of the fortieth year after they left Egypt. For at the next mansion Aaron died in the first day of the fifth month of the fortieth year; the nine and thirtieth year taking end at Ezion-gaber. And at this city of Kades, (for so it was thought to be,) or near it, died [c] Miriam, or Mary, Moses's sister, whose sepulchre was to be seen in St. Jerome's time, as himself avoweth. From hence, ere they departed to the mountain Hor, [d] all the people murmured most violently against Moses, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from heaven, by being devoured and swallowed up by the earth, by the sudden pestilence which often seized them, nor any miracle formerly shewing either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this nation any longer than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites; but instead of seeking for help and relief at God's hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on Moses all their misadventures; yea, though they well knew that their own fathers had left their bodies in the deserts, and that they were now entered into the fortieth year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being as it were in sight of the land promised, they

[b] 1 Kings xi. 18. [c] Numb. xx. 1. [d] Numb. xx. 3.

again as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without beginning, so his mercies being without end, he commanded [e] Moses to strike a rock adjoining with his rod, and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattle were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kind of diffidence both in Moses and Aaron at this place, therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travels of Aaron at the mountain Hor, being the next and thirty-fourth station. At which mountain of Hor Aaron was despoiled of the garments of his priesthood, and the same put on Eleazar his son, as God had commanded. Which done, Moses and Eleazar descended the mountain, but God received Aaron on the top thereof, and he was no more seen.

Of this mountain, called Hor, otherwise Mosera, as in Deut. x. 6. those Horites took name, which the Idumeans had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make Mosera, which was the twenty-seventh mansion, and Mosera which they write Moseroth for difference, which was the thirty-fourth mansion, and is also called Hor, to be two distinct places; because Moses, in passing from Cadesbarne towards Esion-gaber, encamped at Mosera, after he departed from Hesmona, and before he came to Benjaacan. And this Mosera, which is also called Hor, he came unto after he left Cades, where [f] Miriam, Moses's sister, died; the first being the twenty-seventh, and the second being the thirty-fourth mansion. But for Hor, which is also called Mosera, it should have been written, *Hor juxta Mosera*, "Hor near "Mosera;" for it is but one root of a mountain, divided into divers tops, as Sinai and Horeb are; whereof the west part Moses calleth Mosera, and the east part Horeb. By the west part Moses encamped as he passed towards the Red sea, on his left hand; by the east part, as he went back

[e] Numb. xx. 9. [f] Numb. xxxiii.

again northwards towards Moab; as in the description of Moses's passage through Arabia, the reader may perceive.

Now it was from Cades, before they came to Hor, because Hor belonged to Edom, that Moses sent messengers to the prince of Idumæa, praying him that he might pass with the people of Israel through his territory into the land of Canaan, which bordered it: for it was the nearest way of all other from the city of Kadesh, where Moses then encamped; whereas otherwise taking his journey by the rivers of Zared, Arnon, and Jordan, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful kings which commanded in those regions. Now the better to persuade the prince of Idumæa hereunto, Moses remembered him that he was of the same race and family with Israel; calling him by the name of brother, because both the Edomites and Israelites were the sons of one father, to wit, Isaac; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to assist the Canaanites, against whom Esau his ancestor had made war, and driven out the Horites (who were of their ancient races descended of Cham) out of the region of Seir, calling it by his own name Edom, or Edumæa. He also making a short repetition of God's blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises, assured Edom, or the king thereof, that he would no way offend his people, or waste his country; but that he would restrain his army within the bounds of the common and king's highways, paying money for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the water which themselves or their cattle should drink. For [g] Moses was commanded by God not to provoke the children of Esau. But the king of Edumæa knowing the strength of his own country, the same being near Canaan, rampard with high and sharp mountains; and withal suspecting, as a natural wise man, that 600,000 strangers being once entered his country, it would rest in their wills to give him law, resolvedly [h] refused them passage, and delivered this answer to the messengers; That [i] if they attempted to enter that way, he

[g] Deut. ii. 4. [h] Numb. xx. 20, 21. [i] Numb. xx.

would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible means. And not knowing whether such a denial might satisfy or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his country together, and shewed himself prepared to defend their passage. For it is written, *Then Edom came out against him*, to wit, Moses, *with much people, and with a mighty power*. Whereupon Moses considering that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of Seir or Edumæa, and that the land promised was that of Canaan; like unto himself, who was of a natural understanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of war that the world had, he refused to adventure the army of Israel against a nation, which, being overcome, gave but a passage to invade others; and which by reason of the seat of their mountainous country, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of Israel, and rendered them less able, if not altogether powerless, to have conquered the rest.

SECT. VI.

Of their compassing Idumæa and travelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of Idumæa, turned himself towards the east, and marched towards the deserts of Moab. Which when Arad king of the Canaanites understood, and that Moses had blanched the way of Edumæa; and knowing that it was Canaan, and not Edom which Israel aimed at, he thought it safest rather to find his enemies in his neighbour's country, than to be found by them in his own; which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory, had Moses been enforced first to have made his way by the sword through Idumæa, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than Arad hoped for, yet being resolved to make trial what courage the Israelites brought with them out of Egypt, before they came nearer his own home, leading the strength of his nation to the edge of the desert, he set upon some part of the army; which, for the multitude, occupied a great space, and for the many herds of cattle

that they drave with them, could not encamp so near together, but that some quarter or other was evermore subject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he slew some few of the Israelites, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable that it was this Canaanite, or his predecessor, which joined his forces with the Amalekites, and gave an [k] overthrow to those mutinous Israelites, which without direction from God by Moses would have entered Canaan from Cadesbarne. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that army were of the Canaanites, because in the first of Deut. 44. the Amorites are named alone without the Amalekites, and are said to have beaten the Israelites at that time. And this Arad, if he were the same that had a victory over Israel near Cadesbarne, or if it were his predecessor that then prevailed, this man finding that Moses was returned from the Red sea, and in his way towards Canaan, and that the south part of Canaan was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of Moses's purpose to compass Moab, determined while he was yet in the desert to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the 12th chapter of Numbers, that the Israelites utterly destroyed the Canaanites and their cities, they are much mistaken that think that this destruction was presently performed by the Israelites. But it is to be understood to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of Joshua. For had Moses at that time entered Canaan in the pursuit of Arad, he would not have fallen back again into the deserts of Zin and Moab, and have fetched a wearisome and needless compass by the rivers of Zared and Arnon.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that Arad did not inhabit any part of Canaan itself, but that his territory lay without it, and near the mountain Hor. For Hor and Zin Cades were the south borders of Edom, and not of Canaan. And it was in the

[k] Numb. xiv. 45.

south of the land of [1] Canaan that Arad dwelt; which south part of Canaan was the north part of Edom.

Again, Horma (for so far the Israelites after their victory pursued the Canaanites) is seated in the south of Judæa. There is also a city of that name in Simeon: but there is no such place to the south of Edom. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove that the same was obtained in the future, and in Joshua's time, and not at the instant of Arad's assault. For had the Israelites at this time sacked the cities of Arad, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great cities, there is also water and bread. But it was in the time of Joshua that the Israelites took their revenge, and after they had passed Jordan, Joshua then governing them; who in the 12th chapter and 14th verse nameth this Arad by the name of his city so called, and with him the king of Horma; to which place the Israelites pursued the Canaanites. And he nameth them amongst those kings which he vanquished and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprise by Arad, Moses finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people eastward to compass Idumæa and the Dead sea, and to make his entrance by Arnon and the plains of Moab, at that time in the possession of the Amorites. But the Israelites, to whom the very name of a desert was terrible, began again to rebel against their leader; till God, by a multitude of fiery serpents, (that is, by the biting of serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire,) made them know their error, and afterwards, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beholding an artificial serpent, by his commandment set up.

From the mount Hor, Moses leaving the ordinary way, which lieth between the Red sea and Cœlesyria, encamped at Zalmora; and thence he removed to Phunon, where he erected the brasen serpent, making these journeys by the

[1] Numb. xxxiii. 40.

edge of Edumæa, but without it. For Phunon was sometime a principal city of the Edomites. Now where it is written in Numbers xxi. 4. *That from mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red sea, which grieved the people*, it was not thereby meant that the Israelites turned back towards the Red sea; neither did they march (according to Fonseca) *per viam, quæ habet a latere mare rubrum*, "by the "way that sided the Red sea;" but indeed they crossed and went athwart the common way from Galaad, Trachonitis, and the countries of Moab to the Red sea, that is, to Esiongaber, Eloth, and Midian; which way, as it lay north and south, so Israel, to shun the border of Edom, and to take the utmost east part of Moab, crossed the common way towards the east, and then they turned again towards the north, as before.

From Phunon he went to Oboth, where they entered the territory of Moab, adjoining to the land of Suph, a country bordering on the Dead sea; and from thence to Abarim, the thirty-eighth mansion, that is, where the mountains so called take beginning, and are as yet but small mountures of hills, on the east border of Moab; from thence they recovered Dibon Gad, or the river of Zared, which riseth in the mountains of Arabia, and runneth towards the Dead sea, not far from Petra the metropolis thereof, being the thirty-ninth station. And having passed that river, they lodged at Dibon Gad, and from thence they kept the way to Diblathaim, one of the cities of Moab, which Jeremy (chap. xlviii. ver. 22.) calleth the *house of Diblathaim*, the same which afterwards was destroyed among the rest by Nebuchadnezzar. From thence they came to the river of Arnon, and encamped in the mountains of Abarim; though in Numbers xxii. Moses doth not remember Helmondiblathaim, but speaketh of his remove from the river of Zared, immediately to the other side of Arnon, calling Arnon the border of Moab, between them and the Amorites; speaking as he found the state of the country at that time. For Arnon was not anciently the border of Moab, but was lately conquered from the Moabites by Sehon, king of the Amorites,

even from the predecessor of Balac-Peor then reigning. From Diblathaim, Moses sent messengers to Sehon king of the Amorites, to desire a passage through his country; which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to give a reason to the neighbour nations of the war he undertook. And though Edom had refused him as Sehon did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. Moses also in sending messengers to Sehon observed the same precept, which he left to his posterity and successors for a law of the war, namely in Deut. xx. 10,11,12. in these words; *When thou comest near unto a city to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it do accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and serve thee; but if it refuse,* &c. *thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword.* Which ordinance all commanders of armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

SECT. VII.

Of the book of the battles of the Lord mentioned in this story, and of other books mentioned in scripture which are lost.

NOW concerning the war between Israel and Sehon, Moses seemeth to refer a great part of this story to that book, entitled, [m] *Liber bellorum Domini*, "The book of "God's battles;" and therefore passeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words, after the Geneva translation, are these; *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the book of the battles of the Lord, what things he did in the Red sea and in the rivers of Arnon.* The Vulgar copy differeth not in sense from this; but the Greek Septuagint vary. For the Greek writes it to this effect; [n] *For thus it is said in the book; The war of the Lord hath burnt, or inflamed, Zoob, and the brooks of Arnon.* Junius, for *the Red sea*, which is in the Genevan and Vulgar edition, names *the region of* [o] *Suph*,

[m] Numb. xxi. 14.
[n] Ibid.
[o] Of the country of Suph, see more, chap. 10. sect. 4. §. 2. and of the force of the word *Suph*, also chap. 18. sect. 3.

a country bordering the Dead sea towards the east, as he conjectureth. The text he readeth thus: *Idcirco dici solet in recensione bellorum Jehovæ, contra Vahebum in regione Suph: et contra flumina, flumina Arnonis;* "Therefore it is spoken in repeating of the battles of Jehovah, "against Vaheb in the country of Suph; and against the "rivers, the rivers of Arnon." In which words he understands, that amongst the wars which the Lord disposed for the good of the [p] Israelites, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the war of Sehon against Vaheb the king of the Moabites, and of his winning the country near Arnon, out of the possession of the Moabites. For this Vaheb was the immediate predecessor of Balak, who lived with Moses; though it be written that this Balak was the son of Zippor, and not of Vaheb. For it seems (as it is plain in the succession of the [q] Edomites) that these kingdoms were elective, and not successive. And as Junius in this translation understandeth no special book of the battles of the Lord; so others, as Vatablus in his annotations, doubt whether in this place any special book be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of wars in future ages to be waged in these places, and to be written in the book of Judges. Siracides, ch. xlvi. tells us plainly that those battles of the Lord were fought by Joshua. *Who was there*, saith he, *before him, like to him? for he fought the battles of the Lord.* But seeing the histories of the scripture elsewhere often pass over matters of great weight in few words, referring the reader to other books written of the same matter at large; therefore it seemeth probable, that such a book as this there was, wherein the several victories by Israel obtained, and also victories of other kings, making way for the good of the Israelites, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious heathen magistrate. For the

[p] Numb. xxi. 26. [q] 1 Chron. i.

books of Henoch, howsoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an epistle of Thaddæus, and cited by Origen περὶ ἀρχῶν, and by Tertullian.

That work also of the patriarch Abraham, *of formation*, which others bestow on Rabbi Achiba, is no where found. The books remembered by Joshua, chap. x. ver. 13. and in the second of Samuel, chap. i. ver. 18. called the *Book of Jasher*, or *Justorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the sun and moon in the midst of the heavens is recorded, and how they stood still, till Israel had avenged themselves of their enemies; out of which also David took the precept of teaching the children of Juda to exercise their bows against their enemies.

Some think this to be the book of eternal predestination, in which the just are written, according to Psalm lxix. 28. where it is said, *Let them be put out of the book of life, neither let them be written with the righteous.* [r] Jerome thinks, that David by this book understood those of Samuel; Rabbi Solomon, that the books of the law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just Abraham, of Isaac, Jacob, and Moses, are written; others, that it was the book of Exodus; others, as Theodoretus, that it was a commentary upon Joshua by an unknown author.

The book of Chozai, concerning Manasseh, remembered in the second of Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19. Of this book, also lost, [s] Jerome conceives that the prophet Isaiah was the author.

The same mischance came as well to the story of Solomon, written by Ahia Silonites, who met with Jeroboam, and foretold him of his obtaining the kingdom of Israel from the son of Solomon; as to the books of Nathan the prophet, and to those of Jeedo the seer, remembered in the second of Chron. ix. 29. with these have the books of Shemaiah and of Iddo, remembered in the second of Chron. xii. 15. perished; and that of Jehu the son of Hanani, of the acts of Jehoshaphat, cited in the second of Chron. xx. 34. Also

[r] Hieron. in quæst. super lib. Regum. [s] Hieron. in annot. in Paralip.

that book of Solomon, which the Hebrews write Hascirim, of 5000 verses, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum* only remaineth, 1 Kings iv. 32. and with this divers other of Solomon's works have perished, as his book of the natures of trees, plants, beasts, fishes, &c. 1 Kings iv. 33. with the rest remembered by Origen, Josephus, Jerome, Cedrenus, Ciccus Asculanus, Picus Mirandula, and others.

Of these and other books many were consumed with the same fire wherewith Nebuchadnezzar burnt the temple of Jerusalem. But let us return thither where we left.

SECT. VIII.

Of Moses's sparing the issue of Lot; and of the giants in those parts; and of Sehon and Og.

WHEN Moses had past Arnon, he encamped on the other side thereof at Abarim, opposite to the city of Nebo, leaving the city of Midian on his left hand, and attempting nothing upon the Moabites on that side. For Moab did at this time inhabit on the south side of Arnon, having lost all his ancient and best territory, which was now in the possession of Sehon the Amorite. For [t] Moses was commanded by God not to molest Moab, neither to provoke them to battle, God having given that land to the children of Lot; the same which was anciently possessed by the Emims, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those giants called Anakims, or the sons of Anak.

God also commanded Moses to spare the Ammonites, because they likewise were descended of Lot; who had expelled from thence those giants which the Ammonites called Zamzummims. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the east of Jordan, even to the desert of Arabia, as well on the west as on the east side of the mountains of Gilead, was inhabited by giants. And in the plantation of the land promised, the Israelites did not at any time pass those mountains to the east of Basan, but left their country to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many giants both before and after

[t] Deut. ii. 9—12.

the flood; so these nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of Canaan, and the land itself, had among them many families of giant-like men. For the Anakims dwelt in Hebron, which sometimes was called the city of Arbah, which Arbah in [u] Joshua is called the father of the Anakims, and the greatest man of the Anakims. There had also been giants in the land of the Moabites, called Emims; and their chief city was Aroer or Ar, near the river of Arnon. To the giants of the Rephaims, the Ammonites gave the name of Zamzummims, which were of the same ancient Canaanites; and their chief city was Rabba, afterwards Philadelphia. They were also called Zuzims, which is as much to say, as *viri robusti, horrendique gigantes;* "strong "men, and fearful giants," who inhabited other cities of Ham, or Hom, in the same province, and not far to the north of Aroer.

Now Moses having passed Arnon, and being encamped at Abarim, and having (as before) sent to Sehon, as he had done to Edom, to pray a passage through his country, was denied it. For Sehon being made proud by his former conquest upon Vaheb the Moabite, which nation the Amorites esteemed but as strangers and usurpers, (themselves being of the sons of Canaan, and the Moabites of Lot,) refused to grant Israel any entrance that way, and withal prepared to encounter Moses with as much speed as he could, because Moses encamped in the country of his new conquests, to wit, the plains of Moab, the forty-second and last mansion; which Moses wasted with the multitude of his people and cattle. Towards him therefore hasting himself, they encountered each other at Jahaz; where Sehon with his children and people were broken and discomfited; and the victory so pursued by Moses, as few or none of the Amorites escaped. He also slaughtered all the women and children of the Amorites, which he found in Essebon, and all the other cities, villages, or fields, they being of the race of Canaan, as those of Basan also were; and descended of Emoreus, or Amoreus; for [x] Moses calleth the Basanites also

[u] Jos. xv. 13. xiv. 15. [x] Deut. i. 8.

Amorites. And although Israel might now have taken a ready way and passage into Judæa, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of Jordan; yet he knew it to be perilous to leave so great a part of that nation of the Amorites on his back, as inhabited all the region of Basan, or Trachonitis; and therefore he led on his army to invade Og, a person of exceeding strength and stature, and the only man of mark remaining of the ancient giants of those parts, and who at that time had sixty cities walled and defenced, lying between the mountain of Hermon (which mountain, saith Moses, the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amorites Shenir) and the river of Jordan. And it befell unto the king of Basan (who attended Moses's coming at Edrei) as it did unto Sihon; for he and his sons perished, and all his cities were taken and possessed. After this, Moses withdrawing himself back again to the mountains of Abarim, left the prosecution of that war unto Jair the son of Manasseh; who conquering the east parts of Basan, to wit, the kingdom of Argob, even unto the nations of the Gessuri and Machati, sixty walled cities, called the same after his own name Havoth Jair; of all which conquests afterwards the half tribe of Manasseh possessed the north part as far as Edrei, but the east part that belonged to Sihon the Amorite, with the mountains of Gilead adjoining, was given to Reuben and Gad.

SECT. IX.

Of the troubles about the Midianites, and of Moses's death.

AFTER these victories, and while Israel sojourned in the valley of Moab, the Midianites and Moabites (over both which nations it seemeth that Balak king of the Moabites then commanded in chief) sought, according to the advice of Balaam, both by alluring the Hebrews to the love of their daughters, and by persuading them to honour and serve their idols, to divide them both in love and religion among themselves; thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beat them out of Moab and the countries adjoining. The Israelites, as they had ever

been inclined, so were they now easily persuaded to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished [y] 24,000 persons; besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the Hebrews were by his commandment put to the sword, or other violent deaths; after this, when that Phinehas the son of Eleazar had pierced the bodies of Zimri, a prince of the Simeonites, together with Cosbi, a daughter of one of the chief of the Midianites, the plague ceased, and God's wrath was appeased. For such was the love and kindness of his all-powerfulness, respecting the ardent zeal of Phinehas in prosecuting of Zimri, (who being a chief among the Hebrews became an idolater,) as he forgave the rest of Israel, and stayed his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that Moses caused the people to be numbered the third time; and there remained of able men fit to bear arms [z] 601,730, of which, as his last enterprise, he appointed 12,000 to be chosen out to invade the cities of Midian, who, together with the Moabites, practised with Balaam to curse Israel; and after that sought to allure them (as before remembered) from the worship of the true God to the service of Beth-Peor, and to the rest of their barbarous idolatry. Over which companies of 12,000 Moses gave the charge to Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the high priest; who slew the five princes of the [a] Midianites, which were, or had lately been, the vassals of Sehon, as appeareth by [b] Joshua. These five princes of the Midianites slain by Eleazar, were at that time but the vassals of [c] Sehon the Amorite, to wit, Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, the dukes of Sehon, saith Joshua. He slew also all the men, male-children, and women, saving such as had not yet used the company of men, but those they saved, and dispersed them among the children of Israel to serve them.

And [d] Moses having now lived 120 years, making both his own weakness of body known to the people, and his in-

[y] Numb. xxv. 9.
[z] Numb. xxvi. 51.
[a] Numb. xxxi. 8.
[b] Jos. xiii. 21.
[c] Ibid.
[d] Deut. xxxi. 2.

ability to travel; and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to ascend the mountains of Abarim, and thereon to render up his life; he hastened to settle the government in Joshua; whom he persuaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, assuring him of God's favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his latter days after the conquest of Og and Sihon, kings of the Amorites, in the repetition and exposition of the law, (or an iteration of the law, according to [e] St. Augustine,) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people; which he often repeated unto them, thereby to confirm them in knowledge, love, fear, and service, of the all-powerful God; he [f] blessed the twelve tribes, that of Simeon excepted, with several and most comfortable blessings; praising the greatness and goodness of Him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them; he also commanded the priests to lay up the book of the law by the side of the ark of God; the last that he indited was that prophetical song, beginning, [g] *Hearken, ye heavens, and I will speak, and let the earth hear the words of my mouth;* and being called by God from the labours and sorrows of this life, unto that rest which never afterwards hath disquiet, he was buried in the land of [h] Moab, over against Beth-Peor; but no man knoweth of his sepulchre to this day; which happened in the year of the world 2554.

SECT. X.

Observations out of the story of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

NOW let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of sundry of the great events which have been mentioned in this story of the life of Moses, for excepting God's miracles, his promise, and fore-choice of this people, he wrought in all things else by the medium of men's affec-

[e] Aug. l. 4. de mirab. sacr. scrip.
[f] Deut. xxxiii.
[g] Deut. xxxii. 1.
[h] Deut. xxxiv. 6.

tions and natural appetites. And so we shall find, that the fear which Pharaoh had of the increase of the Hebrews, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cause of the sorrows and loss which befell himself and the Egyptian nation; which numbers when he sought, by cruel and ungodly policies, to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male children of the Hebrews to be slain, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and savage craft of mortal men) moved compassion in the heart of Pharaoh's own daughter, to preserve that child, which afterwards became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and mild, the most excellently learned in all divine and human knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and the overthrow of Pharaoh, and all the flower of his nation; even then, when he sought by the strength of his men of war, of his horse and chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the dust. The grief which Moses conceived of the injuries and of the violence offered to one of the Hebrews in his own presence, moved him to take revenge of the Egyptian that offered it; the ingratitude of one of his own nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the Egyptian, moved him to fly into Midian; the contention between the shepherds of that place and Jethro's daughters made him known to their father; who not only entertained him, but married him to one of those sisters; and, in that solitary life of keeping of his father-in-law's sheep, far from the press of the world, contenting himself (though bred as a king's son) with the lot of a poor herdsman, God found him out in that desert, wherein he first suffered him to live many years, the better to know the ways and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people toward the land promised; and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleasure for his return into Egypt. The like may be said of all things else, which Moses afterwards by God's direction performed in the story of Israel before remembered. There is not therefore the smallest accident

which may seem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence, but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by; yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

Of the nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the men of renown in other nations, about the times of Moses and Joshua, with the sum of the history of Joshua.

SECT. I.

How the nations, with whom the Israelites were to have war, were divers ways, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.

IN like manner if we look to the quality of the nations with whom the Israelites, after their coming out of Egypt, had to do, either in the wilderness or afterwards, we shall find them long beforehand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity; partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of Canaan, or at least of Ham; and the rest (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Ismaelites) were mingled with them by mutual marriages; whereas the Israelites still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in religion, were these nations, as it were, prepared to be enemies to the Israelites, and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand that this part of Syria, bounded by the mountains of Libanus, and Zidon on the north, by the same mountains continued as far as the springs of Arnon on the east; by the way of Egypt, and the Red sea on the south, and by the Mediterranean sea on the west; was inhabited and peopled

by two nations, the one springing from the sons of Cham, the other from Sem: but those of Sem were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with one [i] family, to wit, that of Abraham, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the Canaanites, the ancient lords and possessors of those territories, by process of time divided into several families and names; whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the Anakims, Zamzummims, or Zuzei, Emims, Horites, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly do) did inhabit the utter borders and mountains of their countries; the rest were the Zidonians, Jebusites, Amorites, Hevites, Hetites, and others, who took name after the sons of Canaan, and after whom the country in general was still called.

As for the Hebrews which descended of Shem by Abraham, they were of another family, and strangers in that country; especially the Israelites, and this was some cause that the Canaanites did not affect them, or endure them; no more than the Philistines did, who descended also of Cham by Mizraim. For though Abraham himself, being a stranger, was highly esteemed and honoured among them, especially by the Amorites inhabiting the west part of Jordan; yet now even they which descending from Abraham, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the Israelites, as holding them strangers and intruders; [k] making more account of their alliance with the Canaanites, and the rest of the issue of Cham, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from Abraham.

True it is, that these nations descended of [l] Abraham, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves and matched with the Canaanites and others, had so far possessed them-

[i] It seemeth also that Hus, the son of Nachor, and Buz his brother, planted themselves in the east side of Jordan about Basan, where they find the land of Hus: in which both Job dwelt, as one of the issue of Hus the son of Nachor, and Elihu his friend, which is called a Buzite. See hereafter, chap. 10. sect. 7.

[k] Exod. xvii. 16.

[l] Deut. xi. 5.

selves of the borders of those regions, as they began to be equal in strength to the bordering Canaanites, if not superior. For of Lot came those two great families of the Moabites and Ammonites; of Esau the Idumeans; of Madian the Madianites; of Ismael, the eldest son of Abraham, came the Ismaelites, with whom are joined, as of the same nation, the Amalekites, whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a tribe of Edom, because Esau had a grandchild of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth it to have been otherwise. For the Israelites were forbidden to provoke the [m] Edomites, or do them any wrong; whereas contrariwise, Amalek was cursed, and endless war decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, chap. viii. sect. 3. Of [n] Ismael's eldest son Naboth sprung the Arabians of Petræa, called Nabathæi. Now even as Abraham besought God to bless Ismael, so it pleased him both to [o] promise and perform it. For of him those twelve princes came which inhabited, in effect, all that tract of land between Havilah upon Tigris, and Sur, which is the west part of the desert of Arabia Petræa. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named nations, which descended from Abraham, were great, yet it is not unlikely but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, was in respect of fear; because all princes and states do not willingly permit any stranger or powerful nation to enter their territories. Wherefore, though all these families beforenamed were not so united in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion; yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to join themselves together against Israel; though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolvedly as the Canaanites did. For the Idumeans only denied the Hebrews a passage, which the Moabites durst not deny, because their country lay more open, and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their

[m] Deut. xi. 5. [n] Exod. xvii. 16. [o] Gen. xvii.

dominions by the Amorites; and as for the Ammonites, their country lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of Sehon and Og, kings of the Amorites, was interjacent: and besides that, the [p] border of the Ammonites was strong, by reason of the mountains which divided it from Basan. Again, that which moved the Moabites in their own reason not much to interrupt Israel in the conquest of Sehon the Amorite, and of Og his confederate, was, that the Moabites might hope, after such time as the Amorites were beaten by Moses, that themselves might recover again their own inheritance; to wit, the valleys and plains lying between the mountains of Arabia and Jordan: but as soon as Sehon was slain, and that the king of Moab, Balak, perceived that Moses allotted that valley to the tribes of Gad and Reuben, he began to practise with Balaam against Israel, and by the daughters of Midian, as aforesaid, to allure them to idolatry. And thus at length the Moabites, by special occasion, were more and more stirred up to enmity against Israel. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from Abraham's kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the authors of their pedigrees, God permitted some enmity to be as it were presages of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incensed by the memory of old grudges; and withal by some disdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the Ismaelites being descended from the eldest son of Abraham, and the Edomites from the eldest son of Isaac, Jacob being but a second son of a second brother, those princes which were descended of the elder houses, being natural men, might scorn to give place, much less to subject themselves to their inferiors, as they took it; and for a more aggravation, the issues of Esau, princes of Idumæa, might keep in record, [q] that their parent was bought out of his birthright by Jacob's taking his advantage, and that he was [r] deceived of his father's blessing also by him; and that [s] Jacob after reconciliation came not unto him, as he promised, unto Seir, or Idumæa.

[p] Numb. xxi. 24. [q] Gen. xxv. [r] Gen. xxvii. [s] Gen. xxxiii. 14.

So also in the posterity of Ismael, it might remain as a seed or pretence of enmity, that their forefather was by the instigation of Sarah cast out into the desert, with his mother Hagar, and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his angel to relieve them. Ismael also had an Egyptian both to his mother and to his wife, and Amalek was also an Horite by his mother; which Horites were of the ancient Canaanites. The Idumeans also, or Edomites, were by their maternal line descended of the Canaanites. For [t] Esau took two wives of that nation; one of them was Adah, the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and the other Aholibamah, the grandchild of Zibeon the Hevite, lord of Seir, before the same was conquered by Esau, and called after his name Edom, or Edumæa.

Lastly, It appears that all those families of the Ismaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in process of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledge and worship of God, and became idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wives of the Canaanites which they had married; only a few of the Kenites, and those Midianites which inhabited on the edge of the Red sea, whereof Jethro was priest or prince, or both, worshipped the true and ever living God.

SECT. II.

Of the kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the ancient wars of the Israelites.

OF the kings of the Canaanites descended of Cham, (for Melchizedek may be thought to be of a better pedigree) we find four named by Moses, and thirty-one remembered by Joshua, though few of these named, otherwise than by the cities over which they commanded; to which each of them had a small territory adjoining, and no other dominion. These Canaanites, in a general consideration, are to be understood for all those nations descended of Cham by Canaan; as the Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Gergesites,

[t] Gen. xxxvi.

Hevites, &c. and so here we understand this name in speaking of the kings of the Canaanites; and so also we call the country of their habitation, the holy land, or the land of promise; for God hath appointed that the seven principal families should be rooted out, and that his own people should inherit their lands and cities. But if we consider of the name and nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by Jordan on the east, and by the Mediterranean sea on the west; in which narrow country, and in the choicest places thereof, those Canaanites which held their paternal name chiefly inhabited.

The first king of these nations, named in the scriptures, was [u] Hamor, or Hemer, of the Hevites, whom Simeon and Levi slew, together with his son Sichem, in revenge of their sister's ravishment.

Arad was the second king which the scriptures have remembered, who had that part of Canaan towards the south, neighbouring Edom and the Dead sea; the same which surprised Israel as they encamped in the [x] wilderness, in the edge of Idumæa.

The third named was Sehon, king of Essebon, who before Moses's arrival had beaten the Moabites out of the west part of Arabia Petræa, or Nabathea, and thrust them over [y] Arnon into the deserts, the same whom Moses overthrew in the plains of Moab; at which time he took Essebon, and all the cities of the Amorites.

Presently after which victory, [z] Og was also slain by Israel, who commanded the north part of that valley between the mountains Traconi, or Galaad, and Jordan, who was also a king of the [a] Amorites.

The fifth was Adonizedek, king of the Jebusites and of Jerusalem, with whom Joshua nameth four other kings:

Hoham, king of Hebron.

Piram, king of Jarmuth.

Japia, king of Lachis, and

[u] Gen. xxxiv.
[x] Numb. xxi. 1.
[y] Numb. xxi. 24.
[z] Josh. ix. Joseph. Ant. lib. 4. c. 5.
[a] Numb. xxi. 35.

Deber, king of Eglon; who were all [b] Amorites, overthrown in battle, and hanged by Joshua. After this overthrow, Joshua nameth Jabin, king of Hazor, and

Jobab, king of Madon, whom he also slaughtered, and took his cities; and this Jabin seemed to have some dominion over the rest, for it is said in the text, [c] *For Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms.*

After these, Adonibezek, that notorious tyrant, is named, who confessed that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of seventy kings, enforcing them to gather crumbs under his table; who, after [d] Judah and Simeon had used the same execution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this king was carried to Jerusalem, where he died.

The last king named is Jabin the second, who, as it seemeth, had rebuilt Hazor, burnt by Joshua. For at such time as he employed Sisera against Israel, whom he oppressed twenty years, after the death of Ehud he inhabited Hazor. This Jabin, [e] Barak (encouraged by Deborah) overthrew, and his captain Sisera had by Jael, the wife of [f] Heber the Kenite, a nail driven into his head while he slept in her tent; Jabin himself perishing afterwards in that war.

The Madianites had also their kings at times, but commonly mixed with the [g] Moabites; and they held a corner of land in Nabathea, to the south-east of the Dead sea. They descended from Madian, Abraham's son by [h] Keturah. Raguel, surnamed Gethegleus, or Jethres, saith Josephus, called Jethro in Exodus, Kenis in the first of Judges, the son of Dathan, the grandchild of Jexanis, or Joksham, the great grandchild of Abraham by [i] Keturah, was priest or prince of the Madianites by the Red sea, whose daughter or niece Moses married; and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This Jethro, if he were not the same with Hobab, must be his father; and this Hobab had seven

[b] Josh. x. Joseph. Ant. l. 5. c. 1.
[c] Josh. xi. 10.
[d] Judg. i. Joseph. l. 5. c. 2.
[e] Judg. iv.
[f] Judg. iv. Psalm lxxxv.
[g] Joseph. l. 5. c. 6.
[h] Exod. iii.
[i] Cedren. p. 34.

daughters. He guided Moses in the wilderness, and became one of the Israelites: of him descended the Kenites, so called of his father [k] Raguel's surname, of which Kenites was Heber, which had peace with Jabin the second, even now remembered.

At such time as Saul invaded the Amalekites, he knowing the good affection of the Kenites to Israel, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the [l] Kenites had strong seats, and lived in the mountains of the deserts.

The kings of the Canaanites, and Madianites, and the Amalekites, as many as I find named, were these:

1. Hemor the Hevite of Sichem.
2. Arad of the south parts.
3. Sehon of Essebon.
4. Og of Basan.
5. Adonizedek the Jebusite, king of Jerusalem.
6. [m] Hoham of Hebron.
7. Piram of Jarmuth.
8. Japia of Lachis.
9. Debir of Eglon.
10. Jabin of Hazor.
11. [n] Jobab of Modon.
12. Adonibezek of Bezek, and
13. Jabin the second king of Hazor.

Of the Madianites these:

[o] Evi, or Evis.

Rekam, or Recem, who built Petra, the metropolis of Petræa, so called by the Greeks, and by Isaiah xvi. 1. and Selah, which is as much as Petra; and so also it is called, 2 Reg. xiv. 7. where it is also called Joktheel.

Zur, Hur, and Reba; [p] Oreb, Zeb, Zebah, Zalmunna.

After the death of Barak, judge of Israel, the four last named of these Madianite kings vexed Israel seven years;

[k] Judg. i.
[l] 1 Sam. xv. 6.
[m] Josh. x.
[n] Josh. xi.
[o] These five first were all at one time kings of several portions of the Madianites slain by Phineas, and the 12,000 which he led against them. Numb. xxxi. 8.
[p] These four last were likewise at one time slain in the pursuit of Gideon's victory, Judg. vii. 25. and chap. viii. 12.

till they being put to flight by Gideon, two of them, to wit, Oreb and Zeb, were taken and slain by the Ephraimites, at the passage of Jordan, as in the 6th, 7th, and 8th of Judges it is written at large. Afterwards, in the pursuit of the rest, Gideon himself laid hands upon Zebah and Zalmana, or Zalmunna, and executed them, being prisoners; in which expedition of Gideon there perished 120,000 of the Madianites, and their confederates. Of the Idumeans, Moabites, and Ammonites, I will speak hereafter in the description of their territories.

SECT. III.

Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

OF the kings of the Amalekites and Ismaelites, I find few that are named; and though of the Ismaelites there were more in number than of the rest, (for they were multiplied into a greater nation, according to the promise of God made unto [q] Abraham,) yet the Amalekites, who together with the Midianites were numbered among them, were more renowned in [r] Moses's time than the rest of the Ismaelites. So also were they when Saul governed Israel; for Saul pursued them from Sur into Havilah, to wit, over a great part of Arabia Petræa, and the desert. The reason to me seemeth to be this; that the twelve princes which came of Ismael were content to leave those barren deserts of Arabia Petræa, called Shur, Paran, and Sin, to the issue of Abraham by Keturah, that joined with them, (for so seem the Amalekites to have been, and so were the Madianites,) themselves taking possession of a better soil in Arabia the Happy, and about the mountains of Galaad in Arabia Petræa. For Nabaioth, the eldest of those twelve princes, planted that part of Arabia Petræa, which was very fruitful, though adjoining to the desert in which Moses wandered, afterwards called Nabathea; the same which neighboureth Judæa on the east side. They also peopled a province in Arabia the Happy, whereof the people were in aftertimes called Napathei, *b* changed into *p*.

[q] Gen. xvii. 20. [r] Judg. vii.

Kedar, the second of Ismael's sons, gave his own name to the east part of Basan, or Batanea, which was afterwards possessed by Manasseh, so much thereof as lay within the mountains Traconi or Gilead. Which nation Lampridius calleth Kedarens, and Pliny, Cedræans.

Adbeel sat down in the desert Arabia, near the mountains which divide it from the Happy; and gave name to the Adubens, which Ptolomy calleth Agubens.

Mibsam was the parent of the Masamancuses, near the mountain Zamath, in the same Arabia the Happy.

The Raabens were of Mishma, who joined to the Orchens, near the Arabian gulf, where Ptolomy setteth Zagmais.

Of Duma were the Dumeans, between the Adubens and Raabens, where the city Dumeth sometimes stood.

Of Massa the Massani, and of Hadar, or Chadar, the Athritæ, who bordered the Napatheans in the same Happy Arabia.

Thema begat the Themaneans among the Arabian mountains, where also the city of Thema is seated.

Of Jetur the Itureans, or Chamathens, of whom Tohu was king in David's time.

Of Naphri the [s] Nubeian Arabians, inhabiting Syria Zoba; over whom Adadezer commanded while David ruled Israel.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of Ismael's sons, was the ancestor of the Cadmoneans, who were afterwards called [t] Asitæ, because they worshipped the fire with the Babylonians.

The Amalekites gave their kings the name of Agag, as the Egyptians the name of Pharaoh to theirs, and the ancient Syrians Adad to theirs, and the Arabians, Nabatheans, Aretas, as names of honour.

The Amalekites were the first that fought with Moses, after he passed the [u] Red sea; when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

[s] Plin. l. 6. c. 28. [t] Junius. [u] Exod. xvii.

Afterwards they joined with the [x] Canaanites, and beat the Israelites near Cades-barne. After the government of Othoniel, they joined them with the Moabites; after Barak with the Madianites, and invaded Israel. God commanded, that as soon as Israel had rest, they should root out the name of the Amalekites; which Saul executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of Egypt to the border of Chaldea, from Havilah to Shur.

In [y] David's time they took Ziklag in Simeon; but David followed them, and surprised them, recovering his prisoners and spoils. And yet, after David became king, they again vexed him, but to their own loss.

In Hezekiah's time, as many of them as joined to [z] Idumæa, were wasted and displanted by the children of Simeon.

SECT. IV.

Of the instauration of civility in Europe about these times, and of Prometheus and Atlas.

THERE lived at this time, and in the same age together with Moses, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength as in all sorts of learning. And as the world was but even now enriched with the written law of the living God, so did art and civility (bred and fostered far off in the east and in Egypt) begin at this time to discover a passage into Europe, and into those parts of Greece neighbouring Asia and Judæa. For if Pelasgus, besides his bodily strength, was chosen king of Arcadia, because he taught those people to erect them simple cottages to defend them from rain and storm; and learned them withal to make a kind of meal and bread of acorns, who before lived for the most part by herbs and roots; we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and how falsely those nations have vaunted of those their antiquities, accompanied not only with civil learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge. And it was in this age of the world, as both Eusebius and [a] St. Augustine have observed, that Pro-

[x] Numb. xiv.
[y] 1 Sam. xxx. 2 Sam. viii. 12.
[z] 1 Chron. iv.
[a] Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de Civit. Dei.

metheus flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientiæ doctor fuisse perhibetur;* "Of whom it is reported, that he formed men out "of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom:" and so Theophrastus expoundeth the invention of fire, ascribed to Prometheus, *ad inventa sapientiæ pertinere;* "to have reference to wise inventions:" and [b] Æschylus affirmeth, that by the stealing of Jupiter's fire was meant, that the knowledge of Prometheus reached to the stars and other celestial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art so to use this fire, as thereby he gave life to images of wood, stone, and clay; meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived had nothing else worthy of men, but external form and figure. By that fiction of Prometheus, being bound on the top of the hill Caucasus, his entrails the while devoured by an eagle, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to investigate the natures, motions, and influences of heavenly bodies: for so it is said, [c] *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno cælo quam longissime astra, signorum obitus et ortus spectaret;* "That he ascended Cauca-"sus, to the end that he might in a clear sky discern afar "off the settings and risings of the stars:" though Diodorus Siculus expounds it otherwise, and others diversely.

Of this man's knowledge Æschylus gives this testimony:

[d] *Ast agebant omnia*
Ut fors ferebat: donec ipse reperi
Signorum obitus ortusque, qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: et multitudinem artium
His reperi: componere inde literas;
Matremque musarum auxi ego memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.

But fortune governed all their works, till when
I first found out how stars did set and rise;
A profitable art to mortal men:

[b] Æschyl. in Prom. vinct. in c. 8. l. 18. de Civit. Dei.
[c] L. Vives ex Hes.
[d] Æschyl. in Prom. vinct.

And others of like use I did devise;
As letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach; and first did amplify
The mother of the *muses memory*.

Africanus makes Prometheus far more ancient, and but ninety-four years after Ogyges. [c] Porphyrius says, that he lived at once with Inachus, who lived with Isaac.

There lived also at once with Moses, that famous Atlas, brother to Prometheus, both being the sons of Japetus, of whom though it be said that they were born before Moses's days, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date; yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men which came into the world long after them. Besides these sons of Japetus, Æschylus finds two other, to wit, Oceanus and Hesperus, who being famous in the west, gave name to the evening, and so to the evening star. Also besides this Atlas of Libya, or Mauritania, there were others which bare the same name: but of the Libyan, and the brother of Prometheus, it was that those mountains which cross Africa to the south of Marocco, Sus, and Hea, with the sea adjoining, took name, which memory Plato in Critias bestows on Atlas, the son of Neptune.

Cicero, in the fifth of his Tusculan Questions, affirmeth, that all things written of Prometheus and Atlas were but by those names to express divine knowledge: *Nec vero Atlas sustinere cœlum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucaso, nec stellatus Cepheus cum uxore traderetur, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset;* "Neither should Atlas be said to bear up heaven, nor Pro-" metheus to be fastened to Caucasus, nor Cepheus with his " wife to be stellified, unless their divine knowledge had " raised upon their names these erroneous fables."

Orpheus sometimes expressed time by Prometheus, sometimes he took him for Saturn; as *Rheæ conjux alme Prometheu.* But that the story of Prometheus was not altoge-

[c] Aug. l. 18. c. 3. de Civit. Dei.

ther a fiction, and that he lived about this time, the most approved historians and antiquaries, and among them Eusebius and St. Augustine, have not doubted. For the great judgment which Atlas had in astronomy, saith [f] St. Augustine, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, Pleiades and Hyades; others attribute unto him the finding out of the moon's course, of which Archas, the son of Orchomenus, challengeth the invention. Of this Archas, Arcadia in Peloponnesus took name, and therefore did the Arcadians vaunt that they were more ancient than the moon: [g] *Et luna gens prior illa fuit:* which is to be understood, saith Natalis Comes, before there had been any observation of the moon's course, or of her working in inferior bodies. And though there be that bestow the finding out thereof upon Endymion, others (as Xenagoras) on Typhon, yet Isacius Tzetzes, a curious searcher of antiquities, gave it Atlas of Libya; who, besides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable strength: from whom Thales the Milesian, as it is said, had the ground of his philosophy.

SECT. V.

Of Deucalion and Phaeton.

AND in this age of the world, and while Moses yet lived, Deucalion reigned in Thessaly, Crotopus then ruling the Argives. [h] This Deucalion was the son of Prometheus, saith Herodotus, Apollonius, Hesiodus, and [i] Strabo. Hesiodus gave him Pandora for mother, the rest Clymene: Homer, in the 15th of his Odysses, makes Deucalion the son of Minos; but he must needs have meant some other Deucalion; for else either Ulysses was mistaken, or Homer, who put the tale into his mouth. For Ulysses, after his return from Troy, feigned himself to be the brother of Idomeneus, who was son to this latter Deucalion, the son of Minos: but this Minos lived but one age before Troy was taken, (for Idomeneus served in that war,) and this Deucalion, the son of Prometheus, who lived at once with Moses,

[f] Lib. 18. c. 8. de Civitate Dei.
[g] Ovid. de Fast. l. 1.
[h] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.
[i] Strab. l. 9.

was long before. In the first Deucalion's time happened that great inundation in Thessaly; by which, in effect, every soul in those parts perished but Deucalion, Pyrrha his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in Thessaly, those people exceeded in all kind of wickedness and villainy; and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of God's vengeance, so did all that nation, for their foul sins, perish by waters: as in the time of Noah, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that general destruction by the flood universal. Only Deucalion and Pyrrha his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be lovers of virtue, of justice, and of religion. Of whom Ovid:

Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit: aut illa reverentia ulla dearum.

No man was better, nor more just than he;
Nor any woman godlier than she.

It is also affirmed, that Prometheus foretold his son Deucalion of this overflowing, and advised him to provide for his own safety; who hereupon prepared himself a kind of vessel, which Lucian, in his dialogue of Timon, calls *cibotium*, and others *larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterwards add the sending out of the dove, to discover the waters fall and decrease, I should verily think that this story had been but an imitation of Noah's flood devised by the Greeks, did not the times so much differ, and [k] St. Augustine, with others of the fathers, and reverend writers, approve this story of Deucalion. Among other his children, Deucalion had these two of note; Helen, of whom Greece had first the name of Hellas; and Melantho, on whom Neptune is said to have begot Delphus, which gave name to Delphos, so renowned among the heathen for the oracle of Apollo therein founded.

And that which was no less strange and marvellous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under Phaeton; not only in Ethiopia, but in Istria, a region in Italy, and about Cumæ,

[k] August. de Civitate Dei, l. 18. c. 10. ex Eusebio et Hieronymo.

and the mountains of Vesuvius; of both which the Greeks, after their manner, have invented many strange fables.

SECT. VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

BUT of all other which this age brought forth among the heathen, Mercurius was the most famous and renowned: the same which was also called Trismegistus, or Ter maximus; and of the Greeks, Hermes.

Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set them in their own times, both St. Augustine and Lactantius find it difficult. For that Mercury, which was esteemed the god of thieves, the god of wrestlers, of merchants, and seamen, and the god of eloquence, (though all by one name confounded,) was not the same with that Mercury, of whose many works some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certain of the Greeks, reckon five Mercuries; of which two were famous in Egypt, and there worshipped; one, the son of Nilus, whose name the Egyptians feared to utter, as the Jews did their Tetragrammaton; the other, that Mercury which slew Argos in Greece, and flying into Egypt, is said to have delivered literature to the Egyptians, and to have given them laws. But [l] Diodorus affirms, that Orpheus, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of Egypt into Greece; which Plato also confirmeth, saying, that letters were not found out by that Mercury which slew Argus, but by that ancient Mercury, otherwise Theuet, whom Philo Biblius writeth Taautus, the Egyptians Thoyth, the Alexandrians Thot, and the Greeks (as before) Hermes [m]. And to this Taautus, Sanconiatho, who lived about the war of Troy, gives the invention of letters. But St. Augustine making two Mercuries, which were both Egyptians, calls neither of them the son of Nilus, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slain Argus. For he finds this Mercury, the slayer of Argus, to be the grand-

[l] Lud. Vives out of Cicero, in Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. 8. c. 26.
[m] Euseb. l. 1. c. 6. de Præp. Evang.

child of that Atlas which lived while Moses was yet young. And yet Lud. Vives upon St. Augustine seems to understand them to be the same with those whom Cicero, Alexandrinus, and the rest have remembered. But that conjecture of theirs, that any Grecian Mercury brought letters into Egypt, hath no ground. For it is manifest (if there be any truth in profane antiquity) that all the knowledge which the Greeks had, was transported out of Egypt, or Phœnicia, and not out of Greece, nor by any Grecian, into Egypt. For they all confess that Cadmus brought letters first into Bœotia, either out of Egypt or out of Phœnicia; it being true, that between Mercurius, that lived at once with Moses, and Cadmus, there were these descents cast; Crotopus king of the Argives, with whom Moses lived, and in whose time, about his tenth year, Moses died; after Crotopus, Sthenelus, who reigned eleven years; after him Danaus fifty years; after him Lynceus; in whose time, and after him in the time of Minos king of Crete, this Cadmus arrived in Bœotia. And therefore it cannot be true, that any Mercurius about Moses's time, flying out of Greece for the slaughter of Argus, brought literature out of Greece into Egypt. Neither did either of those two Mercuries of Egypt whom St. Augustine remembereth, the one the grandfather, the other the nephew or grandchild, come out of Greece. Eupolemus and Artapanus note, that Moses found out letters, and taught the use of them to the Jews; of whom the Phœnicians, their neighbours, received them, and the Greeks of the Phœnicians by Cadmus. But this invention was also ascribed to Moses, for the reason before remembered; that is, because the Jews and the Phœnicians had them first from him. For every nation gave unto those men the honour of first inventors, from whom they received the profit. Ficinus makes that Mercury, upon part of whose works he commenteth, to have been four descents after Moses; which he hath out of [n] Virgil, who calls Atlas, that lived with Moses, the maternal grandfather of the first famous Mercury, whom others, as Diodorus, call the coun-

[n] Virg. l. 4.

sellor and instructor of that renowned Isis, wife of Osiris. But [o] Ficinus giveth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder Mercury instructed Isis, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the tomb of Isis. Lud. Vives, upon the 26th chapter of the eighth book of St. Augustine de Civitate Dei, conceiveth that this Mercury, whose works are extant, was not the first which was entitled *Ter Maximus*, but his nephew or grandchild. [p] Sanchoniaton, an ancient Phœnician, who lived shortly after Moses, hath other fancies of this Mercury; affirming that he was the scribe of Saturn, and called by the Phœnicians, Taautus; and by the Egyptians, Thoot, or Thoyt. It may be, that the many years which he is said to have lived, to wit, 300 years, gave occasion to some [q] writers to find him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those which have collected the grounds of the Egyptian philosophy and divinity, he is found more ancient than Moses, because the inventor of the Egyptian wisdom, wherein it is said that Moses was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this Mercury, or Hermes, doth in his divinity differ in many particulars from the scriptures, especially in the approving of images, which Moses of all things most detested; yet whosoever shall read him with an even judgment, will rather resolve that these works which are now extant, were by the Greeks and Egyptian priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of Hermes written, or by his heart and spirit devised. For there is no man of understanding, and master of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same tract, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine and in nature. For out of doubt (Moses excepted) there was never any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a style more reverend and divine, unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore

[o] Æneid. Ficin. in Præfat. Pœmand. Mercurii Trismegisti.

[p] Or Sanchoniatho. See Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 6.

[q] Vives in l. 8. c. 26. Aug. de Civitate Dei.

if those his two treatises, now among us, the one converted by Apuleius, the other by that learned Ficinus, had been found in all things like themselves, I think it had not been perilous to have thought with Eupolemus, that this Hermes was Moses himself; and that the [r] Egyptian theology hereafter written, was devised by the first and more ancient Mercury, which others have thought to have been Joseph the son of Jacob; whom, after the exposition of Pharaoh's dreams, they called *Saphanet Phane*, which is as much as to say, *absconditorum repertor*, "a finder out of hidden "things." But these are over-venturous opinions; for what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him; of whom, whosoever he were, Lactantius writeth in this sort: [s] *Hic scripsit libros, et quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus majestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos Deum et Patrem;* "He "hath written many books belonging to, or expressing the "knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the "majesty of the most high and one God, calling him by the "same names of God and Father as we do." The same father also feareth not to number him among the sibyls and prophets. And so contrary are these his acknowledgments to those idolatrous fictions of the Egyptians and Grecians, that for myself I am persuaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary thereunto was by corruption inserted. For thus much himself confesseth: *Deus omnium Dominus et Pater, fons et vita, potentia et lux, et mens, et spiritus; et omnia in ipso, et sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex ejus esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, et generator et opifex*, &c. "God," saith he, "the Lord and Father of all things, "the fountain, and life, and power, and light, and mind, "and spirit; and all things are in him and under him. For "his word out of himself proceeding, being most perfect, "and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, "made it also fruitful and producing." And he was there-

[r] Masius. [s] L. 1. c. 6. fol. 4.

fore (saith Suidas) called *Ter Maximus, quia Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens;* "because he spake of the Trinity, affirming, that there is one "God in Trinity." *Hic ruinam*, saith [t] Ficinus, *prævidit priscæ religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Christi, hic futurum judicium, resurrectionem sæculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum;* "This Mercury "foresaw the ruin of the old or superstitious religion, and "the birth of the new faith; and of the coming of Christ, "the future judgment, the resurrection, the glory of the "blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or "damned."

To this I will only add his two last speeches reported by Calcidius the Platonist, and by Volateran out of Suidas: *Hactenus fili pulsus a patria, vixi peregrinus et exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumque post paulum a vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque civitatem regredior; ad quam universi cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namque solus Deus est summus princeps: qui cives suos replet suavitate mirifica; ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita;* "Hitherto, O son, being driven from my country, I have "lived a stranger and banished man, but now I am repairing homeward again in safety. And when I shall, after a "few days, (or in a short time,) by being loosed from these "bonds of flesh and blood, depart from you, see that ye "do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to "that best and blessed city, to which all her citizens (by "the condition of death) shall repair. Therein is the only "God, the most high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with a sweetness more than marvellous; "in regard whereof this being, which others call a life, is "rather to be accounted a death than a life." The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense, but not in words, with Suidas: *O cœlum magni Dei sapiens opus, teque O vox Patris, quam*

[t] In Præf. Mercur. Trismeg.

ille primam emisit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus Verbum et Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini mei; "I adjure thee, O hea-" ven, thou wise work of the great God, and thee, O voice " of the Father, which he first uttered when he framed the " whole world by his only begotten Word and Spirit, com-" prehending all things, have mercy upon me."

But Suidas hath his invocation in these words: *Obtestor te cœlum magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum cum omnem mundum firmavit, obtestor te per unigenitum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto;* "I beseech thee, O heaven, wise " work of the great God, I beseech thee, O voice of the " Father, which he spake first when he established all the " world, I beseech thee, by the only begotten Word, con-" taining all things, be favourable, be favourable."

SECT. VII.

Of Jannes and Jambres, and some other that lived about those times.

THERE were also in this age both Æsculapius, which after his death became the god of physicians, being the brother of Mercurius, as [u] Vives thinks in his commentary upon Augustine de Civitate Dei, l. 8. and also those two notorious sorcerers, Jannes and Jambres, who in that impious art excelled all that ever have been heard of to this day: and yet Moses himself doth not charge them with any familiarity with devils or ill spirits, words indeed that seldom came out of his mouth; however, by the Septuagint they are called *sophistæ* or *venefici* and *incantatores*, "so-" phists, poisoners, and enchanters;" by Jerome, *sapientes et malefici*, "wise men and evil-doers;" and so by Vatablus, who also useth the word *magi*. The Greek itself seems to attribute somewhat of what they did to natural magic, calling them [v] φαρμακοὺς, "workers by drugs." The Genevan, *sorcerers* and *enchanters;* Junius, *sapientes, præstigiatores, et magi*. Magicians and wise men here by him are taken

[u] L. Vives in l. 8. Aug. de Civitate Dei, c. 26. [v] Exod. ix. 11.

in one sense; and prestigiators are such as dazzle men's eyes, and make them seem to see what they see not, as false colours and false shapes. But as some virtues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other, (religion and superstition having one face and countenance,) so did the works and workings of Moses and of Pharaoh's sorcerers appear in outward show, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the Devil changeth himself into an angel of light, and imitateth in all he can the ways and workings of the Most High. And yet, on the contrary, every work which surmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned as performed by the help or ministry of ill spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things are such, as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to understand their hidden and best virtues, many things by them are brought to pass which seem altogether impossible, and above nature or art; which two speculations, of works of nature and of miracle, the Cabalists distinguished by these names; *opus de beresith*, and *opus de mercana;* the one they call *sapientiam naturæ*, "the wis- "dom of nature;" the other, *sapientiam divinitatis*, "the "wisdom of divinity:" the one Jacob practised in breeding the pied lambs in Mesopotamia; the other Moses exercised in his miracles wrought in Egypt, having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature; of the other, so far as it pleased God to proportion him; both which he used to his glory that gave them; assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also St. Augustine noteth, that from the time that Moses left Egypt to the death of Joshua, divers other famous men lived in the world, who after their deaths, for their eminent virtues and inventions, were numbered among the gods; as Dionysius, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the Grecians the use of the vine in Attica: at which time also there were instituted musical plays to Apollo Delphicus, thereby to regain his favour, who brought

barrenness and scarcity upon that part of Greece, because they resisted not the attempts of Danaus, who spoiled his temple and set it on fire: so did Ericthonius institute the like games to Minerva, wherein the victor was rewarded with a present of oil, in memory of her that first pressed it out of the olive.

In this age also Xanthus ravished Europa, and begat on her Radamanthus, Sarpedon, and Minos, which three are also given to Jupiter by other historians. To these [x] St. Augustine addeth Hercules, the same to whom the twelve labours are ascribed, native of Tyrinthia, a city of Peloponnesus, (or, as others say, only nursed and brought up there,) who came into Italy, and destroyed many monsters there; being neither that Hercules, which Eusebius surnameth Delphin, famous in Phœnicia; nor that Hercules, according to Philostratus, which came to Gades, whom he calleth an Egyptian: *Manifestum fit, non Thebanum Herculem, sed Ægyptium ad Gades pervenisse, et ibi finem statuisse terræ*, (saith Philostratus, l. 2.) It is manifest that it was the Egyptian Hercules, and not the Theban, which travelled as far as the straits of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also, while Moses wandered in the deserts, Dardanus built Dardania.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy soever they were, that lived in the days and age of Moses, there was never any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things, whom he favoured more; to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; never any man more familiar and conversant with angels; never any more learned both in divine and human knowledge; never a greater prophet in Israel. He was the first that received and delivered the law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters the truth and power of one infinite God, his creating out of nothing the world universal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication which followed it.

[x] Lib. De Civitate Dei, c. 12.

[y] Syracides calleth Moses the beloved of God and men, whose remembrance is blessed. "He made him," saith the same author, "like to the glorious saints, and magnified "him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the "sight of kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to hear "his voice, sanctified him with faithfulness and meekness, "and chose him out of all men."

He is remembered among profane authors, as by Clearchus the Peripatetick; by Megastenes and Numenius the Pythagorean. The long lives which the patriarchs enjoyed before the flood, remembered by Moses, Estieus, Hieronymus, Ægyptius, Hecatæus, Elanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, and Alexander the historian, confirm. The universal flood which God revealed unto Moses, Berosus, Nicolaus Damascenus, and others have testified. The building of the tower of Babel, and confusion of tongues, Abydenus, Estieus, and Sybilla have approved. Berosus also honoureth Abraham. Hecatæus wrote a book of him. Damascenus, before cited, speaketh of Abraham's passage from Damascus into Canaan, agreeing with the books of Moses. Eupolemon writeth the very same of Abraham which Moses did; for, beginning with the building of Babel, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he saith that Abraham, born in the tenth generation, in the city called Camerina, or Urien, excelled all men in wisdom; and by whom the astrology of the Chaldeans was invented: *Is justitia pietateque sua* (saith Eusebius out of the same author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino præcepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibique habitaverit;* "For his justice "and piety he was so pleasing unto God, as by his command-"ment he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there." Likewise Diodorus Siculus, in his 2d book and 5th chapter, speaketh reverently of Moses. There are many other among profane authors which confirm the books of Moses, as Eusebius hath gathered in the 9th of his Preparation to the Gospel, chapter the third and fourth, to whom I refer the reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of Strabo, who writeth of Moses in these

[y] Syrac. 45. 12. 3.

words: [z] *Moses enim affirmabat, docebatque, Ægyptios non recte sentire, qui bestiarum et pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemque Afros et Græcos, qui Diis hominum figuram affinxerunt: id vero solum esse Deum, quod nos et terram et mare continet, quod cœlum et mundum, et rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profecto imaginem, nemo sanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei templum ac delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum;* "Moses "affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amiss, "which attributed unto God the images of beasts and cattle; "also that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred in giving "unto their gods the shape of men; whereas that only is "God indeed, which containeth both us, the earth, and sea, "which we call heaven, the world, and the nature of all "things, whose image doubtless no wise man will dare to "fashion out unto the likeness of those things which are "amongst us; that therefore (all devising of idols cast aside) "a worthy temple and place of prayer was to be erected "unto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure "at all therein."

Now concerning the Egyptian wisdom, for which the martyr Stephen commended Moses, saying, [a] *That Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in works and words;* the same is collected (how truly I know not) by Diodorus, Diogenes Laertius, Jamblicus, Philo Judæus, and Eusebius Cæsariensis, and divided into four parts, viz. mathematical, natural, divine, and moral.

In the mathematical part, which is distinguished into geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and music, the ancient Egyptians excelled all others. For geometry, which is by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was useful unto them; because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper lands and territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of Nilus,

[z] Strab. l. 16. [a] Acts vii. 22.

were yearly overflown and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the second part, to wit, astronomy, the site of the country being a level and spacious plain, free and clear from clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the stars.

Arithmetic also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in geometry and astronomy, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of music they made no other account, nor desired further knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnify their gods, their kings, and good men.

The natural part of this wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from peripatetical philosophy, teaching that *materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixed bodies and living creatures have their being; that heaven is round like a globe; that all stars have a certain fovent heat and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that rains proceed and be from mutations in the air; that the planets have their proper souls, &c.

The divine part of this wisdom, which is called theology, teacheth and believeth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first original in Egypt, partly by means of the temperateness of that country, where neither winter with cold, nor summer with heat, are offensive; and partly through the fertility that Nilus giveth in those places: that the soul is immortal, and hath transmigration from body to body; that God is one, the father and prince of all gods; and that from this God other gods are, as the sun and moon, whom they worshipped by the names of Osiris and Isis, and erected to them temples, statues, and divers images, because the true similitudes of the gods is not known; that many of the gods have been in the estate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues and benefits bestowed on mankind, have been deified. That

those beasts, whose images and forms the kings did carry in their arms when they obtained victory, were adored for gods, because under those ensigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover, the Egyptian divines had a peculiar kind of writing, mystical and secret, wherein the highest points of their religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

[b] Clemens distributeth the whole sum of this latter Egyptian learning into three several sorts; viz. epistolar, which is used in writing common epistles; sacerdotal, which is peculiar to their priests; and sacred; which sacred containeth scripture of two kinds, the one proper, which is expressed by letters alphabetical in obscure and figurative words: as for example, where it is written, the ibis by the beetle participateth the beauty of the hawk, which is read thus: The moon doth by the sun borrow part of the light of God, because light is an image of divine beauty. The other symbolical, or by signatures, which is threefold; viz. imitative, tropical, and enigmatical; imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified; as by a circle the sun, and by the horns of the moon the moon itself: tropical or transferent, which applies the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to signify the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their gods and of men. So with the Egyptian divines, the image of an hawk signifieth God; the figure of the beetle signifieth the sun; the picture of the bird ibis signifieth the moon; by the form of a man, prudence and skilfulness; by a lion, fortitude; by a horse, liberty; by a crocodile, impudency; by a fish, hatred is to be understood. Enigmatical is a composition or mixture of images or similitudes; in which sense, the monstrous image of a lion's body having a man's head, was graven on their temples and altars, to signify, that to men all divine things are enigmatical and obscure. So the image of the sun set on the head of a crocodile (which liveth as well in the waters

[b] Clem. Strom. l. 5.

as on land) expresseth, that the sun nourisheth meteors in the air, as well from the waters as from the earth. So a sceptre, at the top whereof is made an eye and an ear, signifieth God hearing, seeing, and governing all things. The Scythians are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For Pherecydes Syrius reporteth, that when Darius sending letters, threatened Idanthura, king of the Scythians, with ruin and destruction of his kingdom, unless he would acknowledge subjection, Idanthura returned to him a mouse, a frog, a bird, a dart, and a ploughshare; which Orontopagas, tribune of the soldiers, interpreted to signify, that by the mouse, their dwellings; by the frog, their waters; by the bird, their air; by the dart, their weapons; by the plough, their lands, were signified to be ready to be delivered to Darius, as their sovereign lord. But Xyphodres made another construction, viz. that the king meant, that except Darius with his men did hasten away, as a bird through the air, or creep into holes as a mouse, or run into the waters which they had passed as a frog, they should not escape his arms, but either be slain, or (being made captives) till his grounds. The same history is with little difference reported by Herodotus, l. 4.

The fourth and last part, which is moral and politic, doth contain especially the laws, which (according to Laertius) Mercurius Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus devised; who in his books or dialogues of Pimander and Asclepius, hath written so many things of God worthy of admiration; as well (saith Sixtus Senensis) of the Trinity, and of the coming of Christ, as of the last and fearful day of judgment; that (as saith the same author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not only to be accounted a philosopher, but a prophet of things to come.

Jamblicus, in his book of mysteries of the Egyptians, taking two very ancient historians for his authors, to wit, Seleucus and Menætus, affirmeth, that this Mercury was not only the inventor of the Egyptian philosophy, but of all other learning, called the wisdom of the Egyptians, before remembered; and that he wrote of that subject 36,525

books, or pages. Of which there were numbered, of fiery spirits 100 books, of aerial spirits as many, and of spirits celestial a thousand; which because they were out of the Egyptian language converted by certain learned philosophers into the natural Greek, they seemed to have been first written in that tongue. [c] Clemens Alexandrinus writeth, that among the books of Hermes, to wit, of the wisdom of the Egyptians, there were extant in his time thirty-six, of physic six books, of the orders of priests ten, and of astrology four.

SECT. VIII.

A brief of the history of Joshua, and of the space between him and Othoniel, and of the remainders of the Canaanites, with a note of some contemporaries to Joshua, and of the breach of faith.

AFTER the death of Moses, and in the one and fortieth year of the egression, in the first month called Nisan, or March, Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, being filled with the spirit of wisdom, took on him the government of Israel; God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to pass the river of Jordan, and to possess and divide among the Israelites the land promised.

The beginning of Joshua's rule [d] St. Augustine dates with the reign of Amyntas, the eighteenth king in Assyria; with Corax the sixteenth king in Sicyonia, when Danaus governed the Argives, and Ericthonius Athens.

[e] Joshua, imitating in all things his predecessor, sent over Jordan certain discoverers to view the seat and strength of Jericho, the next city unto him on the other side of the river, which he was to pass over. Which discoverers being saved, and sent back by Rahab, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a tavern or victualling house, made Joshua know, that the inhabitants of Jericho, and those of the country about it, hearing of the approach of [f] Israel, had lost courage. Whereupon, the day after the return of the spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth

[c] Clem. Strom. l. 6.
[d] Lib. 18. de Civit. Dei, c. 11.
[e] Josh. ii. 1.
[f] Josh. ii. 11.

year after the egression, Joshua removed from [g] Shittim in the plains of Moab, and drew down his army to the banks of the river Jordan, and gave them commandment to put themselves in order [h] to follow the ark of God, when the Levites took it up, and moved towards the river; giving them withal this forcible encouragement, that they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence, who is Lord of all the world, when the river of [i] Jordan should be cut off and divided, and the waters coming from above should stand still in a heap; whereby those below towards the Dead sea wanting supply, they might pass over into the land of Canaan with dry feet.

He also commanded [k] Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, to prepare themselves (according to their covenant made with Moses) to march in the head of the rest, and (as we call it in this age) to lead in the vanguard, which through all the deserts of Arabia, from the mount Sinai to this place, those of the tribe of Judah had performed. For these tribes being already provided of their habitations, and the country and cities of the Amorites, by the help of the rest, conquered for them; it agreed with justice and equality, that Reuben, Gad, and the half of Manasseh should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of Jordan they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first month Nisan, or March, they passed over to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the dry ground in the midst of the river; which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set up at Gilgal, on the east side of the city of Jericho, where they encamped the first night. At which place [l] Joshua gave commandment, that all born in the last fortieth year in the deserts [m] should be circumcised; which ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof [n] St. Augustine giveth for cause, the people's

[g] Josh. iii. 1.
[h] Josh. iii. 3.
[i] Josh. iii. 13.
[k] Josh. i. 12.
[l] Josh. iv. 19.
[m] Josh. v. 2.
[n] Aug. q. 3. in Josh.

contempt of their superiors; [o] Thomas excuseth it in this sort; that the Israelites knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another; Damascen, that it was not needful by circumcision to distinguish them from other nations, at such time as they lived by themselves and apart from all nations.

On the fourteenth day of the same month, the children of Israel celebrated the passover now the third time; first, at their leaving Egypt; secondly, at mount Sinai; and now at [p] Gilgal. After which, being desirous to taste of the fruits of the country, and having, as it were, surfeited on manna, they parched of the corn of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and eat thereof.

And as Moses began to distribute those regions beyond Jordan, to wit, the lands of the Amorites, which Og of Basan and Sihon held, so did Joshua perform the rest; and after a view and partition made of the territories, he gave to each tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three several times; first, by [q] Moses to Gad, Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, of the lands over Jordan; secondly, by Joshua to the tribe of Judah, Ephraim, and the other half tribe of Manasseh, about the fifth year of his government, proved in Joshua xiv. 10. and a third division was made to the other seven tribes at Shilo, where [r] Joshua seated the *tabernacle of the congregation*.

The victories of Joshua against the kings of the Canaanites are so particularly set down in his own books, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose story I chiefly note these particulars.

First, How in the beginning of the war those little kings, or reguli of the Canaanites, had not so much understanding as to unite themselves together against the Israelites; but according to the custom of those estates, from whose governors God hath taken away all wisdom and foresight, they

[o] Thom. part. 3. quæst. 70. art. 4. ad 3.
[p] Josh. v. 10.
[q] Josh. xiv. 3.
[r] Josh. xviii.

left those of their own nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves, and to their own defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat far off, might again have been quenched, ere it could spread itself so far as their own territories and cities. But after such time as Jericho and Ai were entered, and the kings, people, and cities consumed, five of those thirty-one kings (all which at length perished in that war) joined themselves together, first attempting the Gibeonites, who had rendered themselves to Joshua. Only five, (the rest looking on to see the success,) namely the king of the Jebusites, in Jebus, or Jerusalem, the kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachis, and Eglon, addressed themselves for resistance; whose army being by Joshua surprised and broken, themselves despairing to scape by flight, and hopeless of mercy by submission, creeping into a cave under ground, were thence by Joshua drawn forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victory he also took [s] Makkedah, and Libnah, and Lachis. To the relief whereof Horam king of Gezar hastened, and perished. After which Joshua possessed himself of [t] Eglon, Hebron, and Debir, destroying these cities with their princes.

In the end, and when the south countries were possessed, the cities thereof conquered, and their kings and people made dust; the rest of the Canaanites, guided by the overlate counsels of necessity, united themselves to make one gross strength and body of an army; which Jabin king of Hazor practised and gathered together, being at that time of all the Canaanite kings the most powerful; which army being by Joshua discovered, as the same rested near the lake of Merom, he used such diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining an absolute victory over them, he prosecuted the same to the uttermost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entered their cities, of which he burnt Hazor only, reserving the rest for Israel to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that Joshua shewed himself a skilful man of war, for that in those ancient times he used the stra-

[s] Josh. x. [t] Ibid.

tagem of an ambush in taking of Ai; and in that he broke the armies of the first five kings of the Amorites, which attempted Gibeon, by surprise; for he marched all night from his camp at [u] Gilgal, and set on them early the next day, when they suspected no enemy at hand; as he did also at Merom, when he overthrew Jabin and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great city of Hazor.

Thirdly, The miracles which God wrought during this war were exceeding admirable; as, the stay of the river of Jordan at the springs, so as the army of [x] Israel passed it with a dry foot; the fall of Jericho by the sound of the horns; the showers of [y] hailstones which fell upon the Amorites in their flight from Gibeon, whereby more of them perished than by the sword of Israel. Again, the arrest of the sun in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened, as the Israelites had time to execute all those which fled after the overthrow; a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the all-powerful God.

Fourthly, Out of the passage between Joshua and the Gibeonites, the doctrine of keeping faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evasion, it admitteth no distinction, nor leaveth open any hole or outlet at all to that cunning perfidiousness, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called equivocation. For, notwithstanding that these Gibeonites were a people of the [z] Hevites, expressly and by name, by the commandment of God, to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did overreach, and, as it were, deride Joshua and the princes of Israel, by feigning to be sent as ambassadors from a far country, in which travel their clothes were worn, their bread mouldy, which they avowed to have been warm for newness when they first set out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken, their shoes patched, and their sacks rent and ragged: yet

[u] Josh. x. 9. [x] Josh. iii. 13. [y] Josh. x. 11. [z] Josh. ix. 7.

[a] Joshua having sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel, he durst not, though urged by the murmur of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he spared both their lives and the cities of their inheritance.

Now if ever man had warrant to break faith, and to retract his promise made, Joshua had it. For first, The commandment which he received from God to root out this nation among the rest, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, He might justly have put these men to the sword, and have sacked their cities; if there be any evasion from a promise made, whereof the living God is called to witness. For it was not to the Gibeonites that he gave peace, because he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the [b] Hevites, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gave faith, and to a nation which came from far, who hearing of the wonders which the God of Israel had done in Egypt and over Jordan, sought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, The accord which [c] Israel made with these crafty Canaanites was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, that the Israelites accepted their tale; that is, believed what they had said, *and counselled not with the mouth of the Lord.* Fourthly, These men, who were known idolaters, and served those puppets of the heathen, men of an apish religion, as all worshippers of images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they believed not. I say therefore, that if ever man might have served himself by any evasion or distinction, Joshua might justly have done it. For he needed not in this case the help of equivocation or mental reservation: for what he sware, he sware in good faith; but he sware nothing, nor made any promise at all, to the Gibeonites. And yet, to the end that the faithless subtilty of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well that the promises he made in the name of God were made to the living

[a] Josh. ix. from ver. 5. to 13. [b] Josh. ix. 7. [c] Josh. ix. 14.

God, and not to the dying man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithstanding that they to whom he had sworn it were worshippers of the Devil.

For it is not, as faithless men take it, that he which sweareth to a man, to a society, to a state, or to a king, and sweareth by the name of the living Lord, and in his presence, that this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a society, to a state, or to a prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect; we therein profess that we fear him not, and that we set him at naught and defy him. If he that without reservation of honour giveth a lie in the presence of the king, or of his superior, doth in point of honour give the lie to the king himself, or to his superior; how much more doth he break faith with God, that giveth faith in the presence of God, promiseth in his name, and makes him a witness of the covenant made!

Out of doubt, it is a fearful thing for a son to break the promise, will, or deed of the father; for a state or kingdom to break those contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by public faith. For though it were 400 years after Joshua, that Saul, even out of devotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the Gibeonites; yet God, who forgat not what the predecessors and forefathers of Saul and the Israelites had sworn in his name, afflicted the whole nation with a consuming famine, and could not be appeased, till seven of Saul's sons were delivered to the Gibeonites grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to swear one thing by the name of the living God, and to reserve in silence a contrary intent, the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of subjects to kings, of servants to their masters, of vassals to their lords, of wives to their husbands, and of children to their parents, and of all trials of right, will not only be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free men are tied in the world be torn asunder. It is by oath (when kings and armies cannot pass) that we enter

into the cities of our enemies, and into their armies. It is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, but this; that he that sweareth by the name of God doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the world is true, whom he calleth for a witness, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poor evasions which play with the severity of God's commandments in this kind; but this indeed is the best answer, That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whosoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The Christians in the Holy Land, when they were at the greatest, and had brought the caliph of Egypt to pay them tribute, did not only lose it again, but were soon after beaten out of the Holy Land itself; by reason (saith William of Tyre, a reverend bishop which wrote that story) that Almerick, the fifth king after Godfrey, brake faith with the caliph Elhadech, and his vicegerent, the soldan Sanar, who being suddenly invaded by Almerick, drew in the Turk Syracon to their aid, whose nephew Seladine, after he had made Egypt his own, beat the Christians out of the Holy Land; neither would the wooden cross (the very cross, say they, that Christ died on) give them victory over Seladine, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge, seeing they had forsworn themselves in his name that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the Holy Ghost, [d] *That he that speaketh lies shall be destroyed*, and that *the mouth which uttereth them slayeth the soul;* how much more perilous is it (if any peril be greater than to destroy the soul) to swear a lie! It was Eugenius the pope that persuaded, or rather commanded the king of Hungary, after his great victory over Amurath the Turk, and when the said king had compelled him to peace, the most advantageous that ever was made for the Christians, to break his faith, and to provoke the Turk to renew the war; and though the said king was far stronger in the field than ever,

[d] Psalm v. 6. Wisdom i. 11.

yet he lost the battle with 30,000 Christians, and his own life. But I will stay my hand; for this first volume will not hold the repetition of God's judgments upon faith-breakers, be it against infidels, Turks, or Christians of divers religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths nowadays is rather made a matter of custom than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable, that it pleased God to leave so many cities of the Canaanites unconquered by Israel, to scourge and afflict them, by foreseeing their idolatry, and as it is said in the scriptures, [e] *to be thorns in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make war.* For these cities hereafter named did not only remain in the Canaanites' possession all the time of Joshua, but soon after his death the [f] children of Dan were beaten out of the plain countries, and enforced to inhabit the mountains, and places of hardest access. And those of Judah were not able to be masters of their own valleys, because, as it is written in Judges i. 19. *the Canaanites had chariots of iron.* And those principal cities which stood on the sea-side, adjoining unto [g] Judah, were still held by the remainder of the Anakims or Philistines; as Azzah, Gath, Asdod, out of one of which cities came Goliath, remembered in Samuel.

Neither did the children of Manasseh over Jordan expel the [h] Geshurites, nor the Maachathites, which inhabited the north parts of Basan, afterward Trachonitis.

Nor the Nephtalims possess themselves of Bethshemish, nor of Bethanah; but they enforced those Canaanites to pay them tribute. Neither did [i] Asher expel the Zidonians, nor those of Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Achzib, Heblah, Aphike, and Rehob, nor enforce them to tribute.

No more could Zabulon enjoy Kitron and Nahalol, but received tribute from them. Also the Canaanites dwelt in [k] Gezer among the Ephraims; and among the children of Manasseh, on the west of Jordan, the Canaanites held [l] Beth-

[e] Josh. xxiii. Judg. i. and iii. 2.
[f] Judg. i. 34.
[g] Josh. xi. 19. 1 Sam. xvii. 4.
[h] Josh. xiii. 13.
[i] Judg. i. 31.
[k] Josh. xvi. 10.
[l] Judg. i. 27.

shean, Taanach, Dor, Ibleam, and Megiddo; yea, Jerusalem itself did the Jebusites defend above four hundred years, even till David's time.

Now Joshua lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed Israel, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversely of the continuance. Josephus gives him five and twenty years; Seder Ollam Rabbi, the author of the Hebrew chronology, eight and twenty; and Masseus six and twenty; Maimonius, cited by Massius, fourteen; Joannes Lucidus, seventeen; Cajetanus ten; Eusebius giveth him seven and twenty, and so doth St. Augustine; Melancthon, two and thirty; Codoman, five and twenty. But whereas there passed 480 years from the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, unto the building of the temple, it is necessary that we allow to Joshua only eighteen of them, as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to me seems the most likely, and, as I think, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480 years from the departure out of Egypt unto the building of the temple, convinceth of error such as have inserted years between Joshua and Othoniel, of whom [m] Eusebius finds eight years, to which Arius Montanus adhereth, and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last chapters upon Joshua: Bunting reckons it nine years, Bucholzer and Reusner but one, Codoman twenty, and Nicephorus no less than three and thirty; whereas, following the sure direction of these 480 years, there can be no void years found between Joshua and Othoniel, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto Joshua by the account already specified. The praises and acts of Joshua are briefly written in the six and fortieth chapter of Ecclesiasticus, where, among many other things, it is said of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battles of the Lord?*

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of Arius Montanus, because it is said in the last

[m] Euseb. Præp. Evang.

chapter, verse 26. *And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God;* which seemeth rather to have been meant by the covenant which Joshua made with Israel in Sichem, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord; which promise Joshua caused to be written in the book of the law; and of this opinion were Cajetan and Abulensis. Theodoret doth likewise conceive that the book of Joshua was collected out of an ancient volume, entitled, *Liber Justorum*, remembered by Joshua himself; and others, that it was the work of Samuel; for whereas Montanus groundeth his opinion upon these words of the 26th verse, *And Joshua wrote these words*, &c. this place hath nothing in it to prove it; for when the people had answered Joshua, [n] *The Lord our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey;* it followeth that Joshua made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the book of the law of God.

There lived at once with Joshua, Erichthonius in Attica, who taught that nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed; and about the same time the fifty daughters of Danaus (as it is said) slew the fifty sons of Ægyptus, all but Lynceus, who succeeded Danaus, if the tale be true. There lived also with Joshua, Phœnix and Cadmus, and near the end of Joshua's life, Jupiter is said to have ravished Europa the daughter of Phœnix, (afterwards married to Asterius king of Creta,) and begat on her Minos, Radamanthus, and Sarpedon. But [o] St. Augustine reports this ravishment to be committed by Xanthus, and yet they are more commonly taken for the sons of Jupiter. But it may be doubted whether [p] Minos was father to Deucalion, and Deucalion to Idomeneus, who was an old man at the war of Troy, and Sarpedon was in person a young or strong man at the same Trojan war. And so doth Nestor reckon up in the counsel of the [q] Greeks, Theseus and Perithous for men of antiquity, and of ages past; Minos being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof elsewhere.

[n] Josh. v. last verse, and xxiv. 24.
[o] Lib. xviii. c. 12. de Civitate Dei.
[p] Homer, Odyss. and Iliad.
[q] Hom. Iliad. 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the tribes of Israel that were planted in the borders of Phœnicia, with sundry stories depending upon those places.

SECT. I.

The proem to the description of the whole land of Canaan, with an exposition of the name of Syria.

THE story of the Judges ought to follow that of Joshua, after whom the commonwealth of the Jews was governed by kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten tribes shall be remembered when we come to the description of Samaria: but because the land of Canaan, and the borders thereof, were the stages and theatres whereon the greatest part of the story past, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a geographical description of those regions; that all things therein performed, by the places known, may the better be understood and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the neighbour countries) I have bestowed on every tribe his proper portion, and do shew what cities and places of strength were by the Jews obtained, and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when, ungrateful for his many graces, they at sundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deaf and dead idols of the heathen: *Divina bonitas*, (saith St. Augustine,) *ideo maxime irascitur in hoc sæculo, ne irascatur in futuro; et misericorditer temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne æternam juste inferat ultionem;* "The "divine goodness is especially therefore angry in this world, "that it may not be angry in the world to come; and doth "mercifully use temporal severity, that it may not justly "bring upon us eternal vengeance."

To the cities herein described, I have added a short story of the beginnings and ends of divers kingdoms and commonweals; and to help myself herein, I have perused divers of the best authors upon this subject; among whom,

because I find so great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine own reason, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And because Canaan, with Palæstina of the Philistines, and the lands of Og and Sihon kings of Basan, and the Arabian Amorites, were but small provinces of Syria; it shall be necessary first to divide and bound the general, and so descend to this particular, now called the Holy Land.

[r] Syria, now Soria, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently taken, embraced all those regions from the Euxine sea to the Red sea; and therefore were the Cappadocians, which look into Pontus, called [s] Leucosyrians, or white Syrians. But taking it shorter, and from the coast of Cilicia, which is the north border, unto Idumæa towards the south, Tigris towards the sun-rising, and the Mediterranean sea westward; it then containeth, besides Babylonia, Chaldea, Arabia the Desert, and Arabia Petræa, that region also which the Greeks call Mesopotamia, the Hebrews Syria; of the two rivers, to wit, Tigris and Euphrates, for so Aram-Naharaijm is expounded; also Padan Aram; that is, Jugum Syriæ, because the two rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

[t] Edessa, sometimes Rages, now Rage, was the metropolis of this region of Syria. In Syria, taken largely, there were many small provinces, as Cœlesyria, which the Latins call Syria Cava, because it lay in that fruitful valley between the mountains of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, in which the famous cities of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many others, were seated. Then Damascena, or Syria Libanica, taking name of the city [u] Damascus, and the mountains of Libanus, the regal seat of the Adades, the first kings of Syria. Adjoining to it was the province of Sophene, or [x] Syria Soba, Choba, or Zobal, over which Adadezer commanded in Solomon's time. Then Phœnicia and the people Syraphœnices; and lastly, Syria Palæstina bordering Egypt,

[r] Ptol. Asiæ Tab. 4.
[s] Ptol. 5.
[t] Aurogallus.
[u] 1 Kings xi.
[x] Herod. in Polym. Dion. l. 27.

of which [y] Ptolemy maketh Judæa also a part; and to that province which Moses calleth Seir and Edom, Pomponius Mela giveth the name of Syria Judæa.

SECT. II.

Of the bounds of the land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this land.

BUT that land which was anciently Canaan, taketh a part of Phœnicia, and stretcheth from behind Libanus to the great deserts between Idumæa and Egypt; bounded by the midland sea on the west, and the mountains of Hermon, Gilead, and Arnon towards the east; the same hills which Strabo calleth Traconi, or Traconitæ, and Ptolemy Hippus. The name of Canaan it had from [z] Canaan the son of Cham, *et lingua appellata fuit Canaan;* "the language "was also called Canaan," saith Montanus; and after Hebræa of the Hebrews, who took name from Heber, the son of Sale, according to [a] St. Augustine. But Arius Montanus, not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of Noah's sons which passed over Euphrates towards the west sea. For the word Heber, saith he, is as much as *transiens*, or *transmittens*, of going or passing over. And because the children of Abraham had for a long time no certain abiding, therefore, as he thinks, they were by the Egyptians called *Hebræi*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of C. Sigonius, and of [b] Eusebius long before them both. It had also the name of Judæa from Juda, and then afterwards entitled the Holy Land, because therein our Saviour Christ was born and buried. Now this part of Syria was again divided into four, namely, into Edom, (otherwise Seir, or Edumæa,) Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa. Galilee is double, the superior, called *gentium*, and the inferior; and that Galilee and Judæa are distinguished, it is plain in the [c] Evangelists, though both of them belong to Phœnicia.

Now besides these provinces of Phœnicia and Palæstina,

[y] Ptol. Asiæ Tab. 4.
[z] Strab. l. 10.
[a] Caleb. f. 62.
[b] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 3.
[c] Matt. ii. Luke ii. John iv.

(both which the river of Jordan boundeth, saving that Phœnicia stretcheth a little more easterly towards Damascus,) that part also to the east of Jordan, and within the mountains of Hermon, Gilead, and Arnon, otherwise Traconi, fell to the possession of half Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben, and therefore are accounted a part of Canaan also; as well because anciently possessed by the Amorites, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the Israelites; which eastermost parts are again divided into Basan, or Batanea, into Gilead, Moab, Midian, Ammon, and the territories of the Machati, Gessuri, Argobe, Hus. They are known to the later cosmographers by the name of Arabia in general, and by the names of Trachonitis, Pieria, Batanea, &c. of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where Moses describeth the land of Canaan in the tenth of Genesis, he maketh no mention of the latter provinces which fell to Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben; for these be his words; *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar until Azzah, (which is Gaza,)* and this was the length of the country north and south; then it followeth in the text, *And as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Seboim, even unto Lasha;* by which words Moses setteth down the breadth, to wit, from the Dead sea to the Mediterranean. But in [d] Deuteronomy it seemeth to be far more large; for it is therein written, *All the places whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours; your coast shall be from the wilderness, and from Lebanon, and from the river Perah, unto the uttermost sea.* Now for the length of the country north and south, this description agreeth with the former, only Lebanon is put for Zidon, and the wilderness for Gerar and Azzah, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent east and west, if Perah be taken for Euphrates, then the land promised stretcheth itself both over Arabia Petræa and the Desert, as far as the border of Babylon, which the Israelites never possessed, nor at any

[d] Deut. xi. 24.

time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore Vadianus doth conceive, that by the river Perah was meant Jordan, and not Euphrates, taking light from this place of Joshua; [e] *Behold, I have divided unto you by lot these nations that remain, to be an inheritance according to your tribes, from Jordan, with all the nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great sea westward.*

And though it be true, that David greatly enlarged the territory of the Holy Land; yet, as [f] Vadianus well noteth, if Perah in the former place be taken for Euphrates, then was it but *per gentes in amicitiam receptas:* for David did not at any time enter so far to the east as Assyria, or Babylonia. Neither doth the not possessing of all these countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavil, as touching the promise of God to the Israelites unperformed; for when both their kings, magistrates, and people fell from his worship and service, it pleased him, not only to enclose them within that territory, which was for so many people exceeding narrow, but therein, and elsewhere, to subject them unto those idolatrous nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves also served and obeyed. And sure, the promise by which the Hebrews claimed the inheritance of [g] Canaan, and the lasting enjoying thereof, to wit, *as long as the heavens were above the earth,* was tied to those conditions, both in the verses preceding and subsequent, which the Israelites never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect; who know, that all sorts of comforts, from the merciful goodness of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in Deut. xi. 8, 9. the keeping God's commandments was a condition joined to the prosperity of Israel; for therein it is written, *Therefore shall ye keep all the commandments which I command you this day, that ye may be strong, and go in and*

[e] Josh. xxiii. 4.
[f] Vadian. Epitom. trium terræ partium. cap. Palæstina. [g] Deut. xi. 21.

possess the land, whither ye go to possess it. Also that you may prolong your days in the land, which the Lord sware unto your fathers, &c.

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heavens are above the earth; [h] *For if ye keep diligently*, saith he, *all these commandments which I command you, to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these nations before you, and ye shall possess great nations and mightier than you.* And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of God's commandments, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerful majesty, to the idolatry of the heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed; yet I cannot mislike that exposition of Melancthon; for, saith he, *Ostendit promissionem præcipuam non esse de hoc politico regno;* "He sheweth that his chief promise is not of a civil king-"dom." To which agrees that answer which St. Jerome made to a certain heretic, in his epistle *ad Dardanum*, who accused St. Jerome, that he overthrew the reputation of the Jews' story, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an allegory, and *ad illam duntaxat viventium terram quæ in cœlis est*, that is, "only to "that land of the living which is in heaven." *Quoniam tota Judæorum regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat* 160 *milliarium, latitudinem vero* 40, *et in his etiam regiones, loco, urbes, et oppida sunt plurima, nunquam a Judæis occupata, sed tantum divina pollicitatione promissa;* "Because the whole country of the Jews "is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160 miles in "length, and forty miles in breadth; and in these are coun-"tries, places, cities, and many towns which the Jews never "possessed, but were only granted by divine promise." In like manner the same father speaketh upon Isaiah, touching the blessings promised unto Jerusalem; where he hath these words: [i] *De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Pa-*

[h] Deut. xi. 22, 23. [i] Isa. xlix. 14.

læstina regione petendam: quæ totius provinciæ deterrima est, et saxosis montibus asperatur; et penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut cœlestibus utatur pluviis, et raritatem fontium cisternarum extructione soletur: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, Festinaverunt structores tui; "From whence," saith he, "we learn that Jerusalem is not to be sought in "that region of Palæstina, which is the worst of the whole "province, and ragged with craggy mountains, and suffer-"eth the penury of thirst; so as it preserveth rain-water, "and supplieth the scarcity of wells, by building of cisterns: "but this Jerusalem is in God's hands, to which it is said, "Thy builders have hastened." So far St. Jerome. Where also, to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself; *Neque hoc dico in suggillationem terræ Judææ, ut hæreticus sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historiæ veritatem: quæ fundamentum est intelligentiæ spiritualis, sed ut decutiam supercilium Judæorum: qui synagogæ angustias latitudini ecclesiæ præferunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, et non spiritum vivificantem, ostendant terram promissionis lacte et melle manantem;* "Neither," saith he, "say I this to disgrace the land of Judæa, (as the "heretical sycophant doth belie me,) or to take away the "truth of the history, which is the foundation of spiritual "understanding; but to beat down the pride of the Jews, "which enlarge the straits of the synagogue further than "the breadth of the church; for if they follow only the "killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew "the land of promise flowing with milk and honey."

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely, (seeing the west bound in the place, Deut. xi. 24. had his truth in the literal sense,) that Euphrates or Perath, which is made the east bound, should be taken only in a spiritual sense, yet nevertheless that Jerome's opinion inclineth to this, as if this Perath were not to be understood for Euphrates; and that the promise itself was never so large, much less the plantation and conquest of Israel.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because Asher, Nephtalim, and Zabulon held the

northernmost part, and were seated in Phœnicia, I will begin with these three, taking Asher for the first; of which tribe yet before I speak, I must admonish the reader touching the names of places in this and the other tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reason of the divers fancies of translators, are diversely expressed; so that to the unskilful they may seem diverse, when they are one and the same; the reason of this diversity (as by those learned in the Hebrew I am taught) is, partly, because the ancient editions of the Hebrew want vowels, the old translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew editions have; and partly, because the ancients expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the latter think fit.

SECT. III.

The tribe of Asher.

§. 1.

The bounds of the tribe of Asher.

THE Asherites, descended of Asher, the son of Jacob by Zelpha, the handmaid of Lea, were increased while they abode in Egypt to the number of 41,500 and odd persons, all men above twenty years of age, and able to bear arms at the time when they were mustered by Moses at mount Sinai; all which number perishing in the deserts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children, 53,400 bodies fit for the wars, which passed the river of Arnon into the plains of Moab; and, after the conquest of Canaan, had for their portion that part of Phœnicia, from Zidon and the fields of Libanus, unto Ptolomais Acon along the sea-coast, containing thirty English miles, or thereabouts; and from the midland sea to the east border, some twelve miles; though [k] Antoninus makes it somewhat larger. This part of Canaan was very fruitful, abounding in wine, oil, and wheat, besides the balsamum, with other pleasant and profitable commodities; according to that prophesy, *Asser pinguis panis; concerning Asher, his bread shall be fat; and he shall give pleasures for a king*[l].

[k] Ant. Itin. [l] Gen. xlix.

§. 2.

Of Zidon.

THE first city seated on the north border of the territory of Asher was Zidon, which Joshua calleth the great Zidon, both for strength and magnitude. The Greeks and Q. Curtius make Agenor the founder thereof; and [m] Justin derives the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores; whereof it hath been called Zidona. But that it was far more ancient, [n] Moses, Joshua, and Josephus witness, the same being founded by Zidon, the eldest of Canaan's sons; and so strong it was in Joshua's time, as neither did himself attempt it, neither could the Asserites, or any of their successors, master it; but it continued all the time of the judges and kings, even unto the coming of Christ, a city interchangeably governed by their own princes or other magistrates; though, according to the warnings and threats of the prophets [o] Isaiah, Jeremy, Ezekiel, and Zachary, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies sword and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the Phœnician sea, which is a part of the Mediterranean or midland sea. It hath to the north the city of Berythus and the river Leontis; and to the south, Sarepta or Sarphat, which standeth between it and Tyre; the distance between which two great and famous cities, to wit, Zidon and Tyre, is 14,000 paces, saith [p] Seiglerus; but Vadianus makes it 200 furlongs, and so doth Weissinbury, in his description of the Holy Land, both from Strabo; which 200 furlongs make twenty-five miles. This difference of distance, as well between these two known cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to devise any new scale to the map and description of the Holy Land.

What kings it had till Agenor's time, there is no memory; the story which Zeno the philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more ancient than Tyre, which was also

[m] Justin. l. 18.
[n] Gen. x. Joseph.
[o] Isa. xxiii. Jer. xlvii. Ezek. xxviii. and xxxii. Zach. ix.
[p] Palæst. Seig. f. 19. Vadian. Phœn. f. 278. Strab. l. 16.

built by the Zidonians. For as [q] Strabo noteth, Homer, speaking of Zidon, neglecteth the memory of Tyre, because it was but a member of Zidon, and a city subject to the kings thereof; though it be true, that in after-times it contended with Zidon for primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and strong. From Zidon had Solomon and Zorobabel their principal workmen, both in timber and stone, for the building of the temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other mechanical arts and trades; the prophet [r] Zachary calling them *the wise Zidonians* The city was, both by nature and art, exceeding strong, having a castle or citadel on the north side, standing upon an unaccessible rock, and compassed by the sea; which, after the citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the knights of the Dutch order: and another castle it hath on the south side, by the port of Egypt, which the Templars guarded. It also sent many other colonies, besides that of Tyre, into places remote; as unto Thebes and Sephyra, cities of Bœotia in Greece.

Strabo and [s] Pliny give the Zidonians the invention of [t] glass, which they used to make of those sands which are taken out of the river Belus, falling into the Mediterranean sea, near Ptolomais or Acon; and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter of those clear glasses which they make at Murana; of which St. Jerome and Pliny: *Zidon insignis artifex vitri, Zidon vitrariis officinis nobilis;* "Zidon a "famous glass-maker, or a skilful worker in glass-houses."

They were in religion idolaters, (as the rest of the Canaanites,) worshippers of Baal and [u] Astaroth; which idols,

[q] Strab. l. 16.

[r] Zach. ix. 2.

[s] Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

[t] It seems that even in Joshua's time they practised glass-making; whence Junius for *misbrephoth maïim*, which, *ad verbum*, is as much as *combustiones aquarum*, reads *fornaces vitrarias*, Josh. xi. 8. as it seems, because these furnaces were where there was store of water, either for the moving of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other necessary uses. But there are others that take them for salt-pits, and others again for hot-baths.

[u] The form of Astoreth (or Astarte) seemeth to have been a sheep; for, Deut. vii. 13. the word in the plural number signifieth sheep; and this may confirm Augustine's opinion, that Astarte was Juno; for the form of her husband, Jupiter Hammon, was a ram.

though common to the other of the issue of Canaan, (as Pineda gathers out of 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. and Judges x. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the Zidonians; as appears 1 Kings xi. 5. in the story of Solomon's idolatry, where Astaroth is called the god of the Zidonians; and 1 Kings xvi. 33. in the story of Achab, the chief worshipper of Baal, where it is said, that he, marrying Jezabel, the daughter of the king of the Zidonians, worshipped their Baal. Divers Baals, and divers Astaroths, in their idolatries they acknowledged, as it appears by the plural names of Baalim and Astaroth, 1 Sam. xii. 10. and elsewhere: for even the name Astaroth, as I am informed by a skilful Hebrician, is plural; the singular being Astoreth: whence, Judges ii. 13, the Septuagint read ἐλάτρευσαν ταῖς ἀστάρταις; "they worshipped the Astartes." The occasion of this their multiplying of their Baals and Astoreths may be diversely understood; either in respect of the diversity of the forms of the images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the stories depending upon them, which (as fables use to be) were doubtless in divers cities diverse. Augustine, Quæst. 16. in Judg. thinks Baal and Astarte to be Jupiter and Juno. For the Carthaginians (which were Tyrians) call Juno by some such name as Astarte. Tull. l. 3. de Nat. Deorum, making divers goddesses of the name of Venus, expounds the fourth to be Astarte; whom he makes to be born of Tyrus and Syria, and to have been the wife of Adonis. As also Macrob. 2. Saturn. cap. 21. says, that Adonis was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the Assyrians. And Jerome, upon Ezekiel viii. 44. notes, that Thammuz (whom there the idolatrous women are noted to bewail) is the name of Adonis among the Syrians. So that it may seem, that in the worship of Astarte, or Venus, they did bewail her husband Adonis: as also the Grecians did in their songs of Adonis, [x] "Mourn for Adonis the fair, dead "is Adonis the fair!" Howbeit, others in that place of Ezekiel, not without good probability, expound the mourning for Thammuz to be the mourning for Osiris, in the

[x] Κλαίετε καλὸν Ἄδωνιν.

sacrifices of Isis; whose loss of her husband Osiris was as famous, in the Egyptian idolatry, as, with the Grecians, Venus's loss of Adonis. And to this agreeth that which Plutarch hath, de Iside et Osiride; that Osiris with the Egyptians is called Ammuz; which word may seem to be the same with Ezekiel's Thammuz. But howsoever these Zidonians were thus anciently fostered with the milk of idolatry, yet they were more apt to receive the doctrine and gospel of Christ, after his ascension, than the Jews, who had been taught by Moses and the prophets so many years; whereof our Saviour, in Matthew and Luke; [y] *Woe be to thee, Chorazin! &c. for if the great works, which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. But I say unto you, It shall be easier for Tyrus and Zidon at the day of judgment, than for you.*

It received a Christian bishop with the first, who was afterwards of the diocese of Tyre. But in the year of our redemption 636, it fell into the hands of the Saracens, and continued in their possession till Baldwinus the First, then king of Jerusalem, in the year 1111. by the help of the Danes and Norways, who came with a fleet to visit the Holy Land, and took port at [z] Joppa, it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to Eustace Gremer, a nobleman of that country. And again, in the year 1250, it was re-edified and strengthened by Lodowick, the French king, while he spent four years in the war of the Holy Land. [a] Lastly, in the year 1289, it was reconquered by the Saracens; and is now in possession of the Turk, and hath the name of Zai.

§. 3.

Of Sarepta, with a brief history of Tyre in the same coast.

SAREPTA, or, after the Hebrew, Sarphath, is the next city southward from Zidon, between it and the river called Naar, or Fons hortorum Libani, (of which more hereafter,)

[y] Matth. xi. 21, 22.
[z] Tyr. 11. Bell. Sacr. 14. Vitriac. c. 27.
[a] Niger Postellus.

standing in the way towards Tyre, a city very famous for the excellent wine growing near it: of which Sidonius;

Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæque Sareptano palmite missa bibas.
I have no wine of Gaza, nor Falerna wine,
Nor any for thy drinking of Sarepta's vine.

This city had also a bishop of the diocese of Tyre, after it came to the Saracens and Turks, as the rest, and is now called Saphet, saith Postellus.

Not far from Sarepta was situate that sometime famous city of Tyre, whose fleets of ships commanded and gave the law over all the Mediterranean sea and the borders thereof; during which time of greatness and power the Tyrians erected Utica, Leptis, and Carthage in Africa; of which Virgil: [b] *Urbs antiqua fuit Tyrii tenuere coloni, Carthago.* And Carthage was therefore called [c] *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a colony of the Phœnicians. In Spain they founded Gades, now Cadiz; in Italy, Nola; in Asia the Less, Dromos Achillis; which city the [d] scholiast of Apollonius placeth near the river Phyllis in Bithynia.

It had anciently the name of Zor, or Tzor, and so it is written in Joshua xix. taking name from the situation, because built on a high rock, sharp at one end. The Latins, as it seems, knew it by the name of Sarra; for [e] Virgil calleth the purple of Tyre *ostrum Sarranum*, by which name Juvenal and Silius remember it. The Zidonians built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day, the place being still known by the name of the ancient Tyre: and because it was a colony of the Zidonians, the prophet Isaiah xxiii. calleth it the daughter of Zidon; which Trogus also confirmeth, though Berosus, by affinity of name, makes Thiras, the son of Japhet, to be the parent thereof; and though no doubt it was very ancient, (for so much the prophet Isaiah xxiii. also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?*) yet, that Thiras, the son of Japhet, set himself in the bosom of the Canaan-

[b] Virgil. l. 1. [c] Plin. l. 5. c. 19. [d] Marcellin. l. 22. [e] Gellius, l. 4. c. 6.

ites who built Zidon, and peopled all that region, I see nothing to persuade me.

But that new Tyre, in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the work of Agenor; and of this opinion was [f] Curtius: and Josephus and Eusebius make this city elder than Solomon's temple 240 years; Cedrenus 361, who also addeth that Tyrus, the wife of Agenor, gave it her name: but of Agenor I will speak more at large in the story of their kings.

For strength, and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an island 700 paces from the continent; and therefore [g] Ezekiel placeth it in the midst of the sea, as some read; or as others, in the innermost part of the sea; whence he calleth it, *situate at the entry of the sea;* as also the same prophet calleth it, *the mart of the people for many isles;* and Isaiah xxiii. 3. *a mart of the nations.* And so proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this city, as the prophet Isaiah, xxxiv. 12. calleth the merchants thereof *princes*, and their chapmen *the nobles of the world.*

It excelled both in learning and in manufacture, especially in the making and dyeing of purple and scarlet cloth; which, saith Julius Pollux, was first found out by Hercules's dog, who passing along the sea-coast, and eating of the fish *conchilis*, or *purpura*, the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the same idols that Zidon did, saving that Hercules became their patron in after-times. For Alexander Macedon, when the Tyrians presented him with a crown of gold and other gifts, desiring to remain his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to Hercules, the defender of their city and the ancestor of the Macedonian kings, and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that Hercules's temple was in the mountain of old Tyre, where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not; for Alexander was not so superstitious as ambitious; he desired to enter the

[f] Justin. l. 18. Curt. l. 4. Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. Ant. l. 8. c. 2. Cedren. p. 17.

[g] Ezek. xxviii. 2. and xxvii. 3.

town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from Libanus so great a number of cedars, and so many weighty stones from the old city of Tyre adjoining, as notwithstanding that his materials were often washed away with the strength of the sea and the tides, yet he never rested, till he had made a foot passage from the continent to the island: and having once approached their walls, he overtopped them with turrets of wood, and other frames; from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving spirit of resolution) he became lord thereof, putting all to the sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000 more to be hung up in a rank all along the sea-shore; which execution in cold blood he performed (as some authors affirm) upon the issues of those slaves which had formerly slain all their masters, taking their wives, children, riches, and power of government to themselves. This victory of Alexander over the Tyrians [h] Josephus remembereth; and how Sanaballat revolted from Darius, and came to Alexander with 8000 soldiers; who was the last *satrapa*, or provincial governor, which Darius seated in Samaria; the same who, having married his daughter to Manasseh, brother to Jaddus the high priest of Jerusalem, obtained of Alexander that a temple might be built on the mountain Garizim, over Samaria; that the forces of the Jews being divided, Alexander might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which priesthood he bestowed on his son-in-law Manasseh, whom the Jews oppugned, for that he had married out of their tribes, and with a Gentile: but while Alexander besieged Gaza, Sanaballat, whom [i] Guil. Tyrius calleth Sanabula, died.

Long before this desolation of Tyre, by the cruelty of Alexander, it was attempted by Salmanassar the Assyrian king, when the growing pride of the Assyrians, after that they had conquered the ten tribes, with the rest of Syria, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that city.

[h] Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 11. c. 8. [i] De Bell. Sac. l. 13. c. 4.

He besieged it both on the land side, and with threescore ships of war held the port, to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it; but the Tyrians with twelve sail scattered that fleet, and took five hundred prisoners of the [k] Assyrians: notwithstanding, the Assyrian continued his resolution, and lay before it by his lieutenants five years, but with ill success. And this siege Menander Ephesius, cited by Josephus, made report of in his Chronicles, as he found the story among the annals of the Tyrians, (which the said Menander converted into Greek,) adding, that Elulæus, whom Tyrius calleth Helisæus, was then king of Tyre, having governed the same six and twenty years. Soon after this repulse of Salmanassar, and about 200 years before the victory of Alexander, Nabuchodonosor, at such time as he destroyed Jerusalem with the temple, came before this city; who indeed gave to Alexander the example of that despairful work of joining it to the continent. For Nabuchodonosor had formerly done it; though by the diligence of the citizens, and the strength of the sea, the same causey and passage was again broken down and demolished.

Against Nabuchodonosor for many years the Tyrians defended themselves; for so long did these Babylonians continue before it, *as every head was made bald, and every shoulder made bare*, saith Ezekiel, xxix. 18. who, with the prophet Isaiah, chap. xxiii. &c. had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proud place. In the end, and after thirteen years siege or more, the Tyrians, despoiled of all their hopes, and remembering over-late the predictions and threatenings of God's prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ships, abandoned their city, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained, and with their wives, children, and portable riches, sailed thence into Cyprus, Carthage, and other maritimate cities of their tributaries or confederates; so as the Babylonians finding nothing therein, either to satisfy so many labours and perils, or any

[k] Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 14. Et cont. Ap. 1. Guil. Tyrius, de Bell. Sac. 13. 4. Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 15.

person upon whom to avenge themselves for the loss of so many bodies in that war, it pleased God, in recompense thereof, (who strengthened this resolution, as in a work of his own,) to make Nabuchodonosor victorious over the [l] Egyptians, and gave him that kingdom, and the spoil thereof, as it were in wages for his army. Whereupon St. Jerome noteth, that God leaveth not the good deeds of the heathen unrewarded; who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action to attain unto that eternal happiness reserved for his servants and saints, yet such is the boundless goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal blessings.

Now of this enterprise of Nabuchodonosor against Tyre profane historians have not been silent. For both Diocles and Philostratus, (as [m] Josephus citeth them,) the one in his second book, the other in his Phœnician histories, remember it.

After these two great vastations by the kings of Babylon and Macedon, this city of Tyre repaired and recovered itself again, and continued in great glory about 300 years, even to the coming of our Saviour Christ, and after him flourished in the Christian faith near 600 years; the archbishop whereof gave place to none but to the patriarch of Jerusalem only, who within his own diocese had fourteen great cities, with their bishops and suffragans, namely, [n] Caipha, otherwise Porphyria, Acon or Ptolomais, Sarepta, Zidon, Cæsarea Philippi, Berytus, Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosia, Archis, Aradus, Antaradus, or Tortosa, and Maraclea. But in the year 636, it was, with the rest of that beautiful region of Phœnicia and Palestina, subjected to the cruel and faithless Saracen; under the burden and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered with the other Palestine cities 488 years.

[o] In the year 1112, it was attempted by Baldwin king of Jerusalem, but in vain; yet in the year 1124, by Guaremonde, patriarch of Jerusalem, vicegerent to Baldwin II. with the assistance of the Venetians, and their fleet of gal-

[l] Ezek. xxix. 19.
[m] Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 13.
[n] Guil. Tyr. Bell. Sac.
[o] Guil. Tyr. 11. Bell. Sac. 17.

leys, it was again recovered, and subjected to the kings of Jerusalem, and so it remained 165 years.

Finally, in the year 1189, Saladine, having first taken Jerusalem, removed his whole army, and sat down before Tyre, drawing his fleet of ships and galleys from Alexandria into the port, this city as then only remaining in the Christian power.

The citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once, with certain rafters of timber, fired, burnt, and brake the Saracens' fleet, and, sallying out resolvedly upon his army, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their victory with such fury, as that the Saracens, forsaking their trenches and tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two years after which victory, the body of that famous Frederick Barbarossa (who, by the lamentable accident of following the Christians' enemies over a river unfordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the cathedral church of Tyre, near unto that glorious sepulchre of Origen, garnished and graven with gilt pillars of marble, 940 years before therein buried; but in the year 1289, the Saracens again attempted it and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the Turks.

§. 4.

Of Ptolomais, or Acon.

THE third city along the coast of the sea, which the Asherites could not obtain on the south bound of Asher, was Acho, which was the ancient name thereof, after Jerome; though other good authors affirm that it took name from Acon, the brother of Ptolomy. [p] Pliny calleth it Ace, and otherwise the colony of Claudius. It had also the name of Coth, or Cod; and by Zieglerus it is called Hactipos.

But, lastly, it was entitled Ptolomais, after the name of one of the Egyptian Ptolomies; which city also, as it is 1 Macc. xi. another of the [q] Ptolomies infideliously wrested from his son-in-law Alexander, which called himself the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, the same Alexander having mar-

[p] Plin. lib. 5. c. 19. in descript. ter. sanct. [q] Ptolomæus Philometer.

ried Cleopatra, daughter of the said Ptolomy, not long before. Therein also was Jonathan Maccabæus treacherously surprised and slain, as it is 1 Macc. xii. 48. by the perfidiousness of [n] Tryphon, whom soon after Antiochus pursued, as it is in the story ensuing; and by like reason, about the same time, was the aforesaid Alexander in the war against Demetrius, one of the sons of Antiochus the Great with whom Ptolomy joined, overthrown and treacherously murdered by Zabdiel the Arabian, to whom he fled for succour; and his head presented unto his father-in-law Ptolomy, who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason above three days, for [o] God struck him by death.

For the beauty and strength of this city, this Alexander made it his regal seat, two parts of the same being environed by the sea, and the port of safety and capacity not inferior to any other in all that tract. This city is distant from Jerusalem some thirty-four miles; four miles to the north from the mountain Carmel, and as much to the south from Castrum Lamberti; from Tyre, [p] Antoninus maketh it thirty-two Italian miles. In the midst of the city there was a tower of great strength, sometime the temple of Bel-zebub, and therefore called *the castle of flies;* on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetual light, like unto that called [q] Pharus in Egypt, to give comfort in the night to those ships which came near and sought that part. It had in it a bishop's seat of the diocese of Tyre, after it became Christian; but in the year 636, (a fatal year to the Christians in those parts,) it was forced and taken by Haomarus the Saracen. In the year 1104, it was regained by [r] Baldwin I. by the help of the galleys of Genoa, to whom a third of the revenue was given in recompense. Again, in the year of our Lord God 1187, Saladine, king of Egypt and Syria, became lord thereof. In the year of Christ 1191, by Richard king of England, and Philip king of France, it was repossessed and redelivered to the Christians. Lastly, in the

[n] 1 Mac. i. 10.
[o] 1 Mac. xi. 18.
[p] Ant. Itin.
[q] Herrold.
[r] G. Tyr. Bell. Sac. l. 10. c. 28. Herrold. l. 1. Bell. Sac. Tit. 7. et l. 2. c. 2. et alibi.

year 1291, it was, by the fury of the Saracens, besieged with an army of 150,000, entered, sacked, and utterly demolished, though in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now Turkish.

§. 5.

Of the castle of St. George.

FIVE miles from Ptolomais, towards the east, is the castle of [s] St. George seated, in which he was born, the valley adjoining bearing the same name. And though for the credit of [t] St. George's killing the dragon, I leave every man to his own belief; yet I cannot but think that, if the kings of England had not some probable record of that his memorable act among many others, it was strange that the order, full of honour, which Edward III. founded, and which his successors royally have continued, should have borne his name, seeing the world had not that scarcity of saints in those days, as that the English were driven to make such an erection upon a fable or person feigned. The place is described by Adrichomius, in his description of Asher, to have been in the fields of Libanus, between the river Adonis and Zidon. His own words are these: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe a Beryto, memorant inclytum Christi militem D. Georgium, regis filiam ab immanissimo dracone asservasse: eamque mactata bestia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam ecclesia postmodum fuit ædificata;* "In this place, which by the inhabit-"ants is called Cappadocia, not far from Berytus, men say "that the famous knight of Christ, St. George, did rescue "the king's daughter from a huge dragon, and, having killed "the beast, delivered the virgin to her parent. In memory "of which deed a church was after built there." Thus far Adrichomius. His authors he citeth Ludovicus Roman. Patric. Navigationum, l. 1. c. 3. and Bridenbach, Itin. 5. The valley under this castle, sometime called Asher, was afterward called the valley of St. George. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the story allegorical, figur-

[s] Broch. [t] Itin. 4. Of the place and memory of his death, see ch. 9. sect. 1.

ing the victory of Christ, than accept of George the Arian bishop, mentioned by Am. Marcellinus.

§. 6.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BETWEEN Ptolomais and Tyre, along the sea-coast, was the strong city of Acziba, or Achazib, which [u] St. Jerome calleth Achziph, and Josephus, Ecdippos, Pliny, Ecdippa, one of those which defended itself against the Asherites. Belforrest finds Acziba and Sandalium, or the castle of Alexander, to be one; but I know not whence he had it.

The twelve searchers of the land, which Moses sent from Cades-barne, travelled as far to the north as Roob, or Rechob, in the tribe of Asser, which Rechob, as also Berothæ, which by Ezekiel, xlvii. 16. is placed in these north borders, belonged, in David's time, to the king Hedarhezer, as it may be gathered out of 2 Sam. viii. 8. and x. 6. and it defended itself against the Asserites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achziph, Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphek did.

This Aphek it was, whose wall falling down slew 27,000 of Benhadad's soldiers, after that 100,000 had been slaughtered by the Israelites under the conduct of Ahab. Here Junius finds that the Philistines encamped a little before the battle at Gilboa, though in his note upon 1 Sam. ix. 1. he takes Aphek there mentioned (at which battle the ark was taken) to have been in [x] Juda. Of which Joshua xv. 53. and in 2 Kings xiii. 17. he reads *Fortiter*, for *in Aphek*. Where others convert it, *Percutiens Syros in Aphek*.

The next place along the coast is Sandalium, first called Schandalium of Schander, which we call Alexander, for Alexander Macedon built it when he besieged Tyre; and set it on a point of land which extendeth itself into the sea between Acziba and Tyre; which castle Baldwin the First rebuilt and fortified in the year of Christ 1157, when he undertook the recovery of Tyre.

Not much above a mile from this castle, there ariseth

[u] Jerom. de locis Heb. Jos. Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 11. Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

[x] 1 Kings xx. 29. 1 Sam. xxix. 1.

that most plentiful spring of water, which Solomon remembereth, called the [y] *well of living waters:* from whence, not only all the fields and plains about Tyre are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn; but the same spring, which hath not above a bow-shot of ground to travel till it recover the sea, driveth six great mills in that short passage, saith [z] Brochard.

Within the land, and to the east of [a] Acziba and Sandalium, standeth Hosa; and beyond it, under the mountains of Tyre, the city of Achsaph, or Axab, or after St. Jerome, Acisap, a city of great strength, whose king, amongst the rest, was slain by Joshua at the waters of Merom.

§. 7.

Of Thoron, Giscala, and some other places.

FURTHER into the land, towards Jordan, was seated the castle of Thoron, which Hugo de Sancto Abdemare built on the easternmost hills of Tyre in the year 1107, thereby to restrain the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre, against the Christians, the place adjoining being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this castle, the lords of Thoron, famous in the story of the wars for the recovery of the Holy Land, derive their names, and take their nobility. It had in it a curious chapel, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in which Humphrey of Thoron, constable to Baldwin III. king of Jerusalem, lieth buried. There were five castles besides this within the territory of Asser; whereof four are seated almost of equal distance from each other; to wit, Castrum Lamperti, Montfort, Indin, or Saron, Castrum Regium, and Belfort. The first near the sea, under the hills of Saron; the next three, to wit, Indin, Montfort, and Regium, stand more within the land, and belonged to the brotherhood and fellowship of the Teutonici, or Dutch knights, (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians, at such time as the Saracens possessed the best part of the upper Galilee,) the chief of which order was in Ptolomais Acon. The first fortress was for beauty and strength called Belfort,

[y] Cant. iv. [z] Itin. 1. [a] Josh. xii. 20.

seated in the high ground upon the river Naar, near the city Rama; of which, in this tribe, Joshua xix. 29. for which the Vulgar reads *Horma*, making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels; from the siege of this castle of [b] Belfort, the great Saladine, king of Syria and Egypt, was by the Christians' army raised, and, with great loss and dishonour, repulsed.

To the east of Belfort is the strong city of Alab, or Achlab, which St. Jerome calleth Chalab; one of those that defended themselves against Asser, as Roob, or Rechob, not far thence, did.

Towards the south from Roob they place Gabala, (which Herod, surnamed the Ascalonite, rebuilt,) making it of the territory of Chabol, [c] *Quod Syrorum lingua displicere significat*, (saith Weissenburg,) so called, because Hiram of Tyre was ill-pleased with those twenty cities seated hereabout, which Solomon presented unto him in recompense of those provisions sent him for the building of the temple. Others think this [d] Chabol, or Cabul, containing a circuit of those twenty cities given to Hiram, to have been without the compass of the Holy Land, though bordering Asher on the north side; as it is said, 1 Reg. ix. 11. that they were *in regione limitis;* that is, *in limite regionis*, "in the border "of the country:" for it was not lawful, say they, to give to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the Israelites: howsoever, that after Hiram had refused them, they were peopled by the Israelites, it appears 2 Chron. viii. 14. And it seems they were conquered by [e] David, from the Syri Rechobæi, whose city Roob, or Rechob, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the castle of Thoron, they place the cities of Giscala and Gadara; of which Gadara is rather to be placed over Jordan. Giscala was made famous by John the son of Levi, who from a mean estate, gathering together 400 thieves, greatly troubled all the upper Galilee, at such time as the Romans attempted the conquest of

[b] Herold. l. 2. c. 4. Continuationis Bell. Sac.
[c] Joseph. Ant. 13. 21. and 15. 10.
[d] Jun. Annot. in 1 Reg. 9. 11.
[e] 2 Sam. x. 6.

Judæa; by whose practice Josephus, who then commanded in the upper Galilee, was greatly endangered; whereof himself hath written at large, in his second book of those wars, chap. 26. This John betraying, in all he could, the city of Giscala (whereof he was native) to the Roman state: and finding a resistance in the city, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the Tyrians and Gadarims to surprise it; who at the same time forced it, and burnt it to the ground. But being by Josephus's authority rebuilt, it was afterwards rendered to Titus by composition. They find also the cities of Cana major, and [f] Cades, or Cedessa; of the first was that Syro-Phœnician, whose daughter Christ delivered of the evil spirit. Near the other, they say, it was, that Jonathas Macchabæus overthrew the army of Demetrius.

There are, besides these forenamed cities within the tribe of Asser, divers others; as on the south border, and near the sea, Messal, or Misheal; within the land [g] Besara, [h] Bethdagon, and Bethemec, standing on the south border, between Asher and Zabulon; on the north side, joining to Syro-Phœnicia, is the city of Hethalon, or Chethlon, the utmost of the Holy Land that way; under which, towards the sea, is Chali, and then [i] Enoch, supposed to be built by Cain, and named of his son Enoch, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as Ammon, or Chammon, of which Joshua xix. 28. where also we read of Nehiel, Rama, Alamelec, and Beton; the cities of Alcath, or Chelcath, Habdon, and Rechob, and Misheal, which we have already mentioned, were by the Asserites given to the Levites. Of others held by the Canaanites, mention is made Judges i. 30. to which, out of [k] Joshua, we may add Ebron, Amhad, and others, on which no story dependeth; and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

[f] See Kadesh in Nephthalim, Matth. xv. Mark vii. Maccab. i. 73. Jos. Ant. 13. c. 8.

[g] Of which Josephus *in vita sua*.

[h] Of both which, Josh. xix. 27. Ezek. xlvii. 15.

[i] Or Enosa, Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4.

[k] Josh. xxi. 30.

§. 8.

Of the rivers and mountains of Asser.

THE rivers to the north of Asser are Adonis, afterwards Canis, to which Ziegler joineth Lycus, Ptolomy, Leontis; both which fall into the sea near Berytus: which river of Leontis, Montanus draws near unto Zidon; finding his head notwithstanding, where [l] Ptolomy doth, between Zidon and Tyre. It hath also a river called Fons hortorum Libani, which Adrichome, out of Brochard, entitleth Eleutherus; for which he also citeth [m] Pliny and 1 Maccabees xi. but neither of those authorities prove Eleutherus to be in Asser, for this river falleth into the sea at the isle of Aradus, not far from Balanæa, witness [n] Ptolomy; and therefore [o] Pinetus calleth it Valania, and Postellus, Velana; which river boundeth Phœnicia on the north side, to which Strabo also agreeth; but this principal river of Asser, Arias Montanus calleth Gabatus. Christianus Schrot, out of the mouth and papers of Peter Laicstan, (which Laicstan in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land,) calleth the main river, Fons hortorum Libani; and one of the streams, which runneth into it from the north side, Naar; and another, from the south-west, Chabul, of the city adjoining of the same name; for Eleutherus it cannot be. There is also another river described by Adrichome, named Jepthael, which I find in no other author, and for which he citeth Joshua xix. but the word [p] *Ghe*, which is added there to Jepthael, is not taken for a river, but for a valley; and for a valley, the Vulgar, the Geneva, and Arias Montanus turn it. There is also found in Asser the river of Belus, remembered by Josephus and Tacitus, which is also called Pagidas, saith [q] Pliny: out of the sands of this river are

[l] Asiæ Tab. 4.

[m] Plin. l. 9.

[n] Asiæ Tab. 4.

[o] Post Orthosiam et Eleutherum est Tripolis.

[p] The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a valley or for a river; but this word *Ghe* is always a valley, as in Gehinnon and Geslemanim. Joseph. l. 2. Bell. Jud. c. 3.

[q] Lib. 5. c. 19. In Josh. xix. 26. it is called *Shichor*; of which name many understand another stream, Josh. xiii. 3. which, running by Petra of Arabia, falleth into the lake Sirbonis, and divideth Egypt from the promised land; whereabout they place Rhinocolura, for which city Junius taketh Shichor in that place of Joshua; but howsoever, whether this Shichor, Josh.

made the best glass, which sometime the Zidonians practised, and now the Venetians at Murana. Arias Montanus makes Belus to be a branch of Chedumim; which it cannot be; for Belus is known to flow from out the lake Cendevia, as all cosmographers, both ancient and modern, and the later travellers into those parts witness. It is true, that the river of Chison taketh water from Chedumim, but not in that fashion which Montanus hath described it; neither doth it find the sea at Ptolomais Acon, according to Montanus, but further to the south, between Caiphas and Sicaminum, witness Zeigler, Adrichomius, and Schrot.

Besides these rivers there are divers famous springs and fountains; as that of living waters adjoining to Tyre; and [r]Maserephot, or, after St. Jerome, Maserephotmaim, whose well, filled by the flood of the sea adjoining, (they say,) the inhabitants, by seething the water, make salt thereof, as at Nantwich.

The mountains which bound Asser on the north are those of Anti-libanus, which with Libanus bound Cœlesyria; two great ledges of hills, which, from the sea of Phœnicia and Syria, extend themselves far into the land eastward: four hundred stadia, or furlongs, according to [s]Strabo, for that length he giveth to the valley of Cœlesyria, which those mountains enclose; but [t]Pliny gives them 1500 furlongs in length from the west (where they begin at Theipsophon, or Dei facies, near Tripolis) to the mountains of Arabia beyond Damascus, where Anti-libanus turneth towards the south. These ledges, where they begin to part Traconitis and Basan from the Desert Arabia, are called Hermon, which Moses also nameth Sion, the Phœnicians Syrion, and the Amorites Sanir; neither is this any one mountain apart, but a continuation of hills, which, running further southerly, is in the scriptures called Galaad, or Gilead, the same being still a part of Libanus, as the prophet Jeremy proveth: *Galaad tu*

xiii. 3. be a river or a city, it appears that this name is found, both in the north bound of the Holy Land, Josh. xix. 26. and in the south bound, Josh. xiii. 3.

[r] See the note in the second section of this paragraph.

[s] Strabo, l. 10.

[t] Plin. l. 5. c. 20. Deut. iv. 48.

mihi caput Libani; noting, that this Galaad is the highest of all those hills of Libanus. [u] Strabo knows them by the name of Traconitæ, and Ptolomy by Hippus. Arias Montanus calleth these mountains bordering Asser, Libanus, for Anti-libanus, contrary to all other cosmographers; but he giveth no reason of his opinion.

They take the name of Libanus from their white tops; because, according to Tacitus, the highest of them are covered with snow all the summer; the Hebrew word *libanon*, saith Weissenburgh, signifieth *whiteness*. Others call them by that name of the frankincense which those trees yield, because λιβάνοτος is also the Greek word for that gum.

[x] Niger out of Aphrodiseus affirmeth, that on Libanus there falleth a kind of honey-dew, which is by the sun congealed into hard sugar, which the inhabitants call *sacchar*, from whence came the Latin word *saccharum*.

The rivers which Libanus bestoweth on the neighbour regions are, Chrysorrhoas, Jordan, Eleutherus, Leontes, Lycus, Adonis, Fons hortorum Libani, and others.

The rest of the mountains of Asser are those hills above Tyre, and the hills of Saron, both exceeding fruitful; but those are but of a low stature compared with Libanus; for from Nebo, or the mountain of Abarim in Ruben, Moses beheld Libanus threescore miles distant.

SECT. IV.

The tribe of Nephtalim.

§. 1.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis and Abila.

THE next portion of the land of Canaan bordering Asher was the Upper Galilee; the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of Nephtalim, the son of Jacob by Billa, the handmaid of Rachel; who, while they abode in Egypt, were increased to the number of 53,400 persons, able to bear arms, numbered at mount Sinai; all which leaving their bodies in the desert there entered the Holy Land of their

[u] Strab. l. 10. Ptol. Asiæ Tab. 4. Sueton. [x] Nig. p. 503.

sons 45,400, besides infants, women, and children under twenty years of age. The land of Nephtalim took beginning on the north part from the fountains of Jordan, and the hills of Libanus adjoining, as far south as the sea of Galilee, bounded on the west by Asher, and on the east and south-east by Jordan.

On the north side of Libanus, and adjoining to this territory of Nephtalim, did the Amorites (or Emorites) also inhabit; in which tract, and under Libanus, was the city of Heliopolis, which the height of the mountains adjoining shadowed from the sun the better part of the day. Postellus calls it Balbec; Niger, Marbech; and Leonclavius, Beallebeca.

Of this name of [y] Heliopolis, there are two great cities in Egypt; the first called On, by the Hebrews and the Chaldean paraphrast, otherwise Bethsemes, or, after the Latins, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus solis*, "the city of the sun;" into which, saith Ulpian, Severus the Roman emperor sent a colony; the other, Gestelius nameth Dealmarach; and of this name Stephanus also findeth a city in Thrace, and Glycas in Phrygia.

There is also in the same valley, adjoining to Nephtalim, Chalcis and Abila. Chalcis, of whom the region towards Palmyrena hath the name of Chalcidica, over which Herod, Agrippa, and Berenice the queen commanded.

Abila also gave name to the region adjoining, of which Lysanius, the son of Herod the elder, became tetrarch or governor, whereof Ptolomy gave it the addition of Lysanii, and called it Abila Lysanii. Volaterran names it Aphila; of which he notes that one Diogenes, a famous sophister, was native, who by Volaterran is entitled Aphileus, not Abileus. After that this city of Abila, or Aphila, had received the Christian faith, Priscillinus became bishop thereof, slain afterwards by our British Maximus at Trever. For distinction of this city, (if it be not the same, as it may be

[y] Guil. Tyr. Bell. Sac. l. 9, c. 15. Theodor. 4. Hist. Ecclesiast. Mela. l. 3. c. 9. Just. Gestel. in itinerar. Joseph. in pluribus locis. Euseb. 8. Demonst. Volat. l. 11. f. 243.

thought to be the same,) it is to be remembered, that in the tribe of [z] Manasseh, joining upon the bounds of the tribe of Nephtalim, there is another city of the same name, saving that it is written with an *e* for an *i*, and called Abela, remembered in the 20th chapter of the second of Samuel; the same Josephus calls Abelmachea, and Jerome Bethmacha. In the place of Samuel, for distinction sake, it is written Abel Beth-Mahaca, (for belike it was the town of Mahaca, the wife of Macir, the son of Manasseh, the father of Gilead;) in the Chronicles it is called Abel-Majim. This city Joab besieged, because Seba the son of Bichri, who rebelled against David, fled thereinto for succour; but a certain wise woman of the city persuading the people to cast Seba's head over the wall, Joab retired his army. The same city was afterwards taken by the king of Damascus, Benhadad, and after a while by Teglatphalasar.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signify *bewailing* or *a plain ground*, and therefore no marvel that many towns (with some addition for distinction sake) were thus called; for even of *bewailing* many places took name; as Bochim, Judg. ii. 4. and so doubtless [a] Abel-Misraim, Gen. l. 11. and yet Junius, in his note upon Numb. xxxiii. 49. thinks that Abel-Sittim was so called, rather by reason of the plain ground there, (to wit, in the land of Moab,) and so perhaps Abel-Meholah in the tribe of Ephraim; the town of Elisha the prophet; also Abel-Vinearum of the Ammonites, whither Jephta pursued them.

§. 2.

Of Hazor.

IN this tribe of Nephtalim, was that famous city of Jabin, in Joshua's time, called Asor, (or, after the Chaldean para-

[z] Also a third in Ephraim, called Abel-Mechola; and a fourth in Reuben, called Abel-Sittim, also Abel-Mitsraim, at the ford of Jordan, and, as it seems, in the same tribe of Reuben, of all which, in that which follows: to which also we may add Abel-Magnum, the name, as some think, of a city otherwise called Bethshemes, near the border of the Philistines; or according to others, of the great stone in the border. 1 Sam. vi. 18. Joseph. Ant. l. 7. c. 10. 2 Sam. xx. 1 Kings xv. 2 Kings xv.

[a] And Abel Magnum, 1 Sam. vi. 18. Judg. vii. 24. 1 Reg. xix. 15. Judg. xi. 35.

phrast, Haszor,) by Josephus, Asora; by Junius, [b] Chatzor; which Laicstan names Hesron, the regal city and metropolis of Canaan, seated in the west part of Nephtalim towards Asher. In this city was that great rendezvous and assembly of those twenty-four kings against Joshua, who being all overthrown, slain, and scattered, this their powerful city was by Joshua taken and burnt to dust. But in process of time, the same being rebuilt by the Canaanites, a second king Jabin, 137 years after the death of this first Jabin, invaded the Israelites; and, being ordained of God to punish their idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable servitude twenty years, till Deborah the prophetess overthrew Sisera, Jabin's lieutenant, and his army, near the mountain Tabor. This city Solomon restored at such time as he also reedified Gezar, burnt by Pharaoh of Egypt, with [c] Megido, Bethoron, and other cities; but about 260 years after, it fell into the hands of Teglatphalasar, king of the Assyrians. It is now, saith Adrichomius, called Antiopia; it was one of the principal cities of Decapolis. There is another city of this name in the territory of Benjamin, seated on the confines of Ascalon, called the new Hazor, [d] saith Jerome.

§. 3.

Of Cæsarea Philippi.

THERE was also on the border, and within the territory of Nephtalim, that renowned city of Lais, or Laiisch, as Junius writes it, or [e] Leschen; which city the children of Dan (being straitened in their territory under Juda) invaded and mastered, and gave it the name of their own parent Dan, and by that name it is written in Gen. xiv. at which place Abraham surprised Chedorlaomer and his con-

[b] Of two other cities of this name in Juda, see chap. 9. sect. 1. Of a fourth in Benjamin, see that which follows in this place. Of a fifth in this tribe of Nephtalim, called Hen-Chatsor, we read Josh. xix. 37. to which we may add Chatsor-Henan, in the uttermost north-east of Manasseh, over Jordan, Ezek. xlvii. Numbers xxxiv. 8. Also in Simeon, Chatsar-Susima, of which 1 Chron. iv. 31. which also is called Chatsar-Susa, and Chatsar-Gaddæ; and lastly, Chatsar-Shuleb, another city of Simeon, fol. 19. 3.

[c] 1 Kings ix.

[d] Hieron. Loc. Hebr. l. E. out of Nehem. xi. 33. as it seems.

[e] Judg. xviii. 27. Jos. xix. 47.

federates, and followed his victory as far as Sobah, formerly remembered in the division of Syria, otherwise called Sophena. And after the possession of the Danites, it had the joint name of Leschem Dan. Weissenburg writes it Lacis; the Geneva, [f] Laish; Josephus, Dana; Benjamin, Balina; Breitenbach, Belena; but the now inhabitants know it by the name of Belina to this day: witness Neubrigensis, Tyrius, Volaterranus, Brochard the monk, and Postellus, who also taketh this city to be the same which in Matth. xv. 39. in the Vulgar is called Magedan; for which the Greek text hath Magdala in that place; and in St. Mark viii. 10. speaking of the same story, Dalmanutha. At such time as the children of Dan obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free city, of the alliance and confederacy of the Zidonians, or else subject unto the kings thereof; for it is written, Judg. xviii. 28. *And there was none to help, because Lais was far from Zidon, and they had no business with other men;* for it was above thirty English miles from the Mediterranean sea, and from Zidon.

In aftertimes, when these regions became subject to the state of Rome, it had the name of Paneas, from a fountain adjoining so called, and therefore Ptolomy calls it Cæsarea Paniæ. Hegesippus calls it Parnium, saith Weissenburg; but he had read it in a corrupt copy, for in Hegesippus, set out by Badius, it is written Paneum, without an *r*: and at such time as Philip the son of the elder Herod, brother to Herod tetrarch of Galilee, became governor of Traconitis, sometime Basan, this city was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter Tiberius Cæsar, he called it [g] Cæsarea Philippi; and so it became the metropolis and head city of Traconitis, and one of the first cities of Decapolis. And being by Agrippa, in the succeeding age, greatly adorned, by him, in honour of Nero, it was called Neronia, or Neroniada. But as nothing remained with that emperor, but the memory

[f] Judg. xviii.

[g] Of another Cæsaria, (or Cæsarea,) called Cæsarea Palestinæ, see hereafter in the former part of Manasseh. Of Diocæsarea, see Sephoris in Zabulon.

of his impiety, so in St. Jerome's time the citizens remembered their former Paneas, and so recalled it, with the territory adjoining, by the ancient name. Of this city was that woman whom Christ healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hem of his garment with a constant faith; who afterwards, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of God's goodness, and no less grateful for the same, as [h] Eusebius and Nicephorus report, caused two statues to be cast in pure copper, the one representing Christ, as near as it could be moulded, the other made like herself, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These she mounted upon two great bases or pedestals, of the same metal, which she placed by a fountain near her own house; both which, saith Eusebius, remained in their first perfection, even to his own time, which himself had seen, who lived in the reign of Constantine the Great. But in the year after Christ 363, that monster Julian Apostata caused that worthy monument to be cast down and defaced, setting up the like of his own in the same place; which image of his was with fire from heaven broken into fitters; the head, body, and other parts sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by Sozomenus Salaminius, in his 5th book and 20th chapter.

This city, built by the Danites, was near the joining together of those two rivers which arise from the springs of Jor and Dan, the two [i] apparent fountains of Jordan, in a soil exceeding fruitful and pleasant; for as it is written, Judges xviii. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the world.* In the fields belonging to this city, it was that St. Peter acknowledged Christ to be the Son of God; whereupon it was answered, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram*, &c. After this city received the Christian faith,

[h] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 7. c. 14. Niceph. l. 6. c. 15.

[i] Josephus, in the book of the Jewish war, 18. saith, That Philip the tetrarch cast chaff into a fountain called Phiala, distant 120 stadia north-east from Cæsarea; which chaff, being carried underground, was cast up again at Panium, or Dan, whereby it is conjectured, that the first spring of Jordan is from this fountain called Phiala, from whence Jor and Dan receive their waters.

it was honoured with a bishop's seat, and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the Saracens and Christians; under Fulch the fourth king of Jerusalem, and after the death of Godfry of Bulloin, the king of Damascus wrested it from the Christians, and shortly after by them again it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth, with all that part of the world, subjected to the Turk.

§. 4.

Of Capernaum, and the cities of Decapolis.

AMONG the remarkable cities within this tribe, Capernaum is not the least, so often remembered by the evangelists. This city had the honour of Christ's presence three years; who for that time was as a citizen thereof, in which he first preached and taught the doctrine of our salvation, according to that notable prophecy of Isaiah ix. 2. *The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.*

Capernaum was seated on Jordan, even where it entereth into the sea of Galilee, in an excellent and rich soil; of whose destruction Christ himself prophesied in these words: *And thou, Capernaum, which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell,* &c. which shewed the pride and greatness of that city, for it was one of the principal cities of Decapolis, and the metropolis of Galilee. And although there were some marks of this city's magnificence in St. Jerome's time, as himself confesseth, it being then a reasonable burgh or town; yet those that have since, and long since seen it, as Brochard, Breidenbech, and Saliniac, affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor fishermen's houses.

The region of ten principal cities, called Decapolitana, or Decapolis, is in this description often mentioned, and in [k] St. Matthew, Mark, and Luke also remembered; but I find no agreement among the cosmographers what proper limits it had; and so Pliny himself confesseth: for [l] Marius Niger, speaking from others, bounds it on the north by the

[k] Matt. iv. Mark vii. Luke viii. [l] Niger. Comment. Asiæ 4. fol. 503.

mountain Casius in Casiotis, and endeth it to the south at Egypt and Arabia; by which description it embraceth Phœnicia, a part of Cœlesyria, all Palæstina, and Judæa.

[m] Pliny also makes it large, and for the ten cities of which it taketh name, he numbereth four of them to be situated towards Arabia, to wit, first these three, Damascus, [n] Opotos, Raphana; then Philadelphia; (which was first called Amana, saith Stephanus, or, as I guess, Amona rather, because it was the chief city of the Ammonites, known by the name of Rabbah, before Ptol. Philadelphus gave it this later and new name;) then Scythopolis, sometime Nysa, built (as is said) by Bacchus in memory of his nurse, who died therein, anciently known by the name of Bethsan; for the sixth he setteth Gadara, (not that Gadara in Cœlesyria, which was also called Antioch and Seleucia,) but it is Gadara in Basan, which Pliny in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill, near the river Hieromaix. This river Ortelius takes to be the river Jaboc, which boundeth Gad and Manasseh over Jordan; but he mistaketh it, for Hieromaix falleth into the sea of Galilee, between Hippos and Gerasa, whereas Jaboc entereth the same sea between Ephron and Phanuel. For the seventh, he nameth [o] Hippos, or Hippion, a city so called of a colony of horsemen there garrisoned by Herod, on the east side of the Galilæan sea, described hereafter in the tribe of Manasseh over Jordan. For the eighth, Pella, which is also called Butis, and Berenice, seated in the south border of the region over Jordan called Peræa. For the ninth, Gelasa, which Josephus takes to be Gerasa; and Gerasa is found in Cœlesyria by Josephus, Hegesippus, and Stephanus; but by Ptolomy (whom I rather follow) in Phœnicia. The tenth and last, Pliny nameth Canatha, and so doth Suetonius and Stephanus, which Volaterran calls Gamala, but Hegesippus rightly Camala, a city in the region of Basan over Jordan, so called because those two hills, on which it is seated, have the shape of a camel.

[m] Plin. l. 5. c. 18.

[n] Opotos, a city standing in the valley of Cœlesyria, watered by Chrysorrhoas, as Damascus is. Plin. l. 5.

[o] Pliny hath Hippon Dion, for which Volaterran reads Hippidion. Ortelius takes them for two cities.

But the collection of these ten cities, whereof this region took name, is better gathered out of Brochard, Breidenbach, and Saligniac, which makes them to be these; Cæsarea Philippi and Asor, before remembered, Cedes Nephtalim, Sephet, Corazin, Capernaum, Bethsaida, Jotapata, Tiberias, and Scythopolis, or Bethsan. For all other authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion. One place of the evangelist St. Matthew makes it manifest, that this region, called Decapolitana, was all that tract between Zidon and the sea of Galilee: for thus it is written in Matthew iv. *And he departed again from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis:* so that it was bounded by Damascus and Libanus on the north, by the Phœnician sea, between Zidon and Ptolomais, on the west, by the hills of Gelbo and Bethsan on the south, and by the mountains Tracones, otherwise Hermon, Sanir, and Galaad, on the east; which is, from east to west, the whole breadth of the Holy Land; and from the north to the south near the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

§. 5.

Of Hamath.

BUT to look back again towards Libanus, there is seated, near the foot thereof, the city of [p] Hammath, or Chammath, of which (as they say) the country adjoining taketh name; the same which Josephus calleth Amathitis and Amathensis: [q] *Jacobus Zeigler, Ituræa. Ituræa regio tenet borealia tribus Nephtali, per montem Libanum usque Trachones.* "The country of Ituræa," saith he, "containeth the north "parts of the tribe of Nephtali, along the mount Libanus "to Trachones." But herein following Strabo, who calls Trachonitis, Ituræa, he mistakes the seat of this region;

[p] The Septuagint write it Ammath. Jerome, Emath. Josephus, Amath. Josh. xix. 35. Chammath. ch. xxi. 32. Chammoth-Dor. 1 Chron. vi. 76. Chammon. 2 Kings xiv. 8. Chammath-Jehudæ, as Junius reads it. Whereas also, for further distinction, there is added, (in Israel,) to note that it was of old belonging to Judah, though seated in Israel, that is, in the kingdom of the ten tribes, the other Chamath being in Syria Soba.

[q] Zeigler. in Neptal.

and so doth Mercator. For indeed were Ituræa (which Hegesippus calls Peræa, and G. Tyrius, Baccar) the same with Traconitis, yet Traconitis itself is far more to the east than Hammath in Nephtalim; for Traconitis lieth between Cæsarea Philippi and the mountains Trachones, which the Hebrews call Gilead; and this Hammath, or Chammath, is seated under Cæsarea, towards the sea westward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding Emath, or Hamath the Great in Cœlesyria, beyond the mountains Trachones, which [r] Jerome upon Amos calls Antiochia, with Hammath, or Hamath the Lesser in Phœnicia, and Nephtalim, which he calleth Epiphania; for this Hammath, or in our translation Hamath, (and not that which is commonly called Emath, which, 2 Chron. viii. 3. is set far from the north border of Canaan in Syria Soba,) is remembered in Numb. xxxiv. 8. and Numb. xiii. 21. and in Ezek. xlvii. 20. In the first of which places it bordereth the land of promise; these being the words: *From mount Hor you shall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *until it come to Hamath.* In the second place, thus: *So they went up and searched out the land from the wilderness of Sin unto Rehob, to go to*

[r] So Jerome in his comment in Amos vi. 2. where there is mention of Hamath the Great, as it seems, for distinction from the other in Nephtalim; though Mat. Beroaldus, rejecting Jerome, rather follows the opinion of Zeigler above mentioned, as indeed it cannot easily be justified, that either one or other of these is either Antiochia or Epiphania; howbeit, that the same city which, Josh. xix. 35. is called Chammath, and placed in Nephtalim, was also called Chamath, (whence the word Hamath and Emath were framed,) it may be gathered, partly because the other Hamath, 2 Chron. viii. 3. for distinction is called Chamath-Tsoba, as this (as it may seem by Josh. xxi. 32.) was Chamath-Dor, and Chamath-Judæ, as we have noted 2 Kings xxiv. Secondly, because Numb. xxxiv. 8. and also Ezek. xlvii. 10. Chameth, in the north side of the Holy Land, is placed too near the west corner to be that Chamath-Tsoba; for in the line which should make the north border, which begins at the great sea, they make Moses to name never a place eastward along all the breadth of the Holy Land, until we come to Hermon, (for so they expound mount Hor, Numb. xxxiv. 7.) and beyond Hermon eastward in this north side, they make him to name divers towns, first Chamath, then Tsedad, then Ziphron, and lastly, Chatsar-henan; a thing most unlikely, seeing Israel had little or nothing eastward beyond Hermon. Therefore we must needs expound Hor to be one of the hills near Sidon; and so those towns, as they are named, to lie in order on the north side of Asher, Nephtalim, and Manasseh; and in like manner those in Ezekiel; first Chetlon, then Chamath; and so in order, Berotha, Sibraim, Tsedad, Chauran, Chatsar-Henan.

Hamath. Then in Ezekiel: *The west part also shall be the great sea from the border, till a man come over against Hamath;* that is, the coast of the sea shall be the west border from the southernmost part of the Holy Land, till you come directly over against Hamath northward; from whence, if a line be drawn to the sea, it will touch the walls of Zidon; which is [s] the north-west corner of the Holy Land. Now that this Hamath, or Hammath, which Moses also made the confine of the Holy Land, is that of Nephthalim, both the reference which it hath to the west sea, and the city of [t] Rehob adjoining prove it: the other Hamath, or Emath, (being far removed, and beyond the forenamed mountains, which enclose all those lands which Israel ever had possession of,) is that Emath which is also called Ituræa, witness [u] Stella and Laicstan; and not that in Nephtalim, where [x] Jonathas Macchabæus attended the army of Demetrius, who fled from him and removed by night.

For though Traconitis be comprehended within Ituræa, (and therefore it is said to be *finitima Galileæ Gentium*,) yet it hath beginning over the mountains Traconis, and so it stretcheth into the plains of the territory of Ituræa; whence Philip, the brother of Herod, was tetrarch or president both of Ituræa and Traconitis; both which are over Jordan towards the east. But Chamath in Nephthalim is on the west side of Jordan towards the Mediterranean sea.

The country Ituræa was so called of Jethur, one of the sons of Ishmael; it is placed in the bounds of Cœlesyria and Arabia [y] the Desert.

The people of Ituræa were valiant and warlike men, and excellent archers. Of whom Virgil:

[s] Of which, Josh. xix. 35.

[t] Which Rehob, or Rechob, in Josh. xix. 28. is placed in Asher towards Zidon, in the confines of Nephthalim.

[u] Tilemanus Stella and Peter Laicstan, in their tables of the Holy Land.

[x] Joseph, Ant. 13. 8.

[y] That it doth properly belong to Arabia, the name of Jetur, Ismael's son, whose issue settled in the Arabiæs, may in part give witness. Also the place of 1 Chron. v. 19. confirms it, where Jetur is named among the Hagarens, against whom the Rubenites and Gadites made war, and whose country they possessed in the time of Jeroboam, as their forefathers had done in the time of Saul, after his conquest of the Amalekites, 1 Chron. v. 10. where the country is placed at the east of Gilead.

Ituræos taxi torquentur in arcus,
Of eugh the Ituræans' bows were made.

The city Chamath, or Hamath, in Nephtalim, seems to have been as ancient as the other in Ituræa, both built by Amatheus, the eleventh son of Canaan. Whether in the time of David this or the other had Tohu for king, it is not certain; for Hamath, or Emath, beyond the mountains, and Hammath in Nephtalim were both neighbours to Damascus; of whose subjugation Tohu rejoiced, because Hadadeser, whom the Damasceni came to help, was his enemy. This Tohu, fearing the strength and prosperity of David, hearing of his approach towards his territory, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessels of gold, silver, and brass.

But it seemeth that David, in such great success, would not have had peace with Tohu, if he had been king of any place in Nephtalim, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in Tsoba; which city Solomon, after his father's death, made himself master of, as a part of the lands ([z] in the larger and conditional promise) allotted by God to the children of Israel.

But this Hammath of Nephtalim, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes both of name and fortune, being, as it hath been said, possessed by Antiochus Epiphanes, it was called Epiphania.

While St. Jerome lived, it remained a city well peopled, known to the Syrians by the name Amathe, and to the Greeks by Epiphania.

§. 6.

Of Reblatha and Rama, and divers other towns.

IN the border of Hamath, or Emath, towards Jordan, standeth the city Reblatha, or Ribla, watered from the fountain Daphnis, which falleth into the lake of Meron. Hereunto was Zedekias brought prisoner, after his surprise in the fields of Jericho, and delivered to Nabuchodonosor; who, to be avenged of Zedekiah's infidelity, beyond the

[z] Of the larger promise expressed, Deut. i. 7. where Euphrates is named for one of the bounds, see chap. 7. sect. 2. Hieron. de Locis Hebr.

proportion of piety, first caused the princes, his children, to be slain in his presence; and to the end that this miserable spectacle might be the last that ever he should behold in this world, and so the most remembered, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out; and binding him in iron chains, he was led a slave to Babylon, in which estate he ended his life. Of which seldom-exampled calamity, though not in express words, [a] Jeremiah the prophet foretold him in Jerusalem not long before: but Ezekiel thus directly, speaking in the person of God; [b] *I will bring him to Babel to the land of the Chaldæans; yet shall he not see it, though he shall die therein.*

There are, besides these before remembered, many other strong cities in Nephtalim, as that which is called [c] Cedes; there are two others of the same name, one in [d] Issachar, another in Juda, of which Josh. xv. 23. and therefore to distinguish it, it is known by the addition of [e] Nephtalim, as Judg. iv. It is seated on a high hill, whence Josh. xx. 7. *Kedesh in Galilæa in monte Nephtali;* Josephus calls it Cedesis; and in St. Jerome's time it was called Cidissus. Belforest greatly mistakes this Cedes, and confounds it with Cades in the desert of Pharan.

After the king thereof, among other of the Canaanites, perished by the hand of Joshua, it was made a city of refuge, and given to the Levites. Herein was Barak born, who overthrew the army of the second Jabin of Hazor, at the mount Tabor. It was sometime possessed by Teglatphalassar, when he wasted all Nephtalim; afterwards by the Romans, and numbered for one of the ten cities of the Decapolitan region: when it had embraced the Christian faith it was honoured with a bishop's seat; but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the Saracens and Turks, and by them it was demolished.

From Cedes, some four Italian miles towards the south-

[a] Jer. lii. 11. &c.
[b] Ezek. xii. 13.
[c] Or Kedesh, Josh. xix. 37. and x. 7. and xxi. 32. item Judg. iv. 6.
[d] 1 Chron. vi. 72. which, Josh. xix. 20. is called Kishian.
[e] Sometime Kedesh in Galilee, 1 Chron. vi. 76. Josh. xii. 22. 2 Kings xv. 29.

west, standeth Sephet, otherwise Zephet, which was also one of the ten Decapolitan cities; a place exceeding strong, and for many years the inexpugnable fortress of the Christians, and afterwards of the Saracens; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour cities of those regions, both inland and maritimate near it. Touching Rama of Nephtalim, seated northward near Sephet, this is to be noted, that there are [f] divers places of this name in Palæstine, all situate on hills, and therefore called Rama: (*Rama Hebræis excelsum*, "Rama with the Hebrews is high.") Also that from this Rama, Josh. xix. 36. they read Arama, making the article (which it hath in the Hebrew, as being a name of divers towns) to be a part of the word; whence, casting away the aspiration, they read Arama. From Sephet towards the west, they place [g] Bethsemes, of which Josh. xix. 38. which defended itself against Nephtalim, Judges i. 33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of Sephet, towards the east, was Bethanath, who also kept their city from the Nephtalims.

Adjoining to which standeth Carthan, [h] or Kiriathaiim, a city of the Levites, not far from the mountain out of which the springs of Capernaum arise, called Mons Christi; a place by our Saviour often frequented; as also then when calling his disciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his apostles or messengers; of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the [i] evangelists.

Adjoining to these are Magdalel, a place of strength; and [k] Masaloth, of which we read, that it was forced by Bacchides, in the time of the [l] Maccabees; also (according to

[f] See in Benjamin and in Ephraim.

[g] Other cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus Solis;*) as that in Juda, 2 Kings xiv. 15. where Joash, king of the ten tribes, overcame Amasia of Juda, of which also I understand the place, Josh xxi. 16. and 1 Sam. vi. 14. and 2 Chron. xxix. 18. A third, as it seems, was in Dan, 1 Kings iv. 9. which, Josh. xix. 41. is written Hershemes, which is as much as *civitas Solis*, Judg. i. 31.

[h] So it appears by comparing the places, Josh. xxi. 32. and 1 Chron. vi. 76. Adrichomius, both here and elsewhere deceived by the double name, makes two of one; although I deny not but that there was another Kiria-thaiim in Reuben; of which Josh. xiii. 19.

[i] Mark iii. Matt. x. Acts i. Matt. v. 6, 7.

[k] Josh. xix. 38.

[l] 1 Macc. ix. 2.

Adrichomius, one of the two Berothæs of Nephtalim. For Adrichomius maketh two of this name in this tribe; [m] one near Chamath in the north border, of which Ezek. xlvii. 6. another (upon a weak conjecture out of Joseph. Ant. lib. 5. c. 2.) he therefore placeth in this tract near the waters of Merom, because the kings that joined with Jabin against Joshua, which encamped at the waters of Merom, Josh. xi. 5. are by Josephus said to have encamped at the city Berotha in Galilee, not far from Cedesa Superior, which is also in Galilee; all which may be true of that Berotha of which Ezekiel, seeing it is in that Galilee which is called the Upper Galilee, or Galilee of the Gentiles. The same Adrichomius placeth the region of Berim near Abela, (of which Abela, or Abel-beth-mahacah, we have spoken already.) This he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, 2 Sam. xx. 14. where some read *Abel et Bethmahacah, et omnia loca Berim;* but the better reading is, *et omnes Berim*, that is, with all the Beræi; for Shebah, being of Benjamin, (in which tribe also there is a city called Berotha, or Beeroth,) drew the men of that city after him.

To the north of Berotha of Nephtalim standeth Sebarim under Libanus, remembered by Ezekiel, xlvii. and Aroseth Gentium, near the waters of Merom, or Samochonitis, the city of Sisera, lieutenant of the army of the second Jabin; from whence, not far off, towards the sea of Galilee, is Edrai, or Edrehi, a strong city; besides many others, whereof I find no particular story of importance, as Ser in Josh. xix. 35. called Triddim-Tzer, and named for the first of their fenced cities; whence they make two cities, Assedim and Ser; then Adama, which they call Edama; also Hion, which they call Ahion; of which in the books of Kings. Then the strong city of Cinnereth, after called Gennezareth, whence we read of the land and lake of Gennezareth, the same lake which is also called the sea of [n] Tiberias. In the body of the land they place Gal-

[m] Barathena Ptolomæo in fine Arabiæ Desertæ: Junio eadem cum Berotha, una civitatum Hadadezeris. 2 Sam. viii. 8. Josh. xviii. 25. Asiroth. Hieron. Judg. iv. Lyr. in Judg. iv. Josh. xix. 37. 1 Kings xv. 20. 2 Kings xv. 29.

[n] Mar. vi. 53. Luke v. 1.

gala to the south border; of which 1 Macc. ix. 2. [o] also divers others named, Josh. xix. as Ucuca, or Chukkok; Horem and Azanoth-tabor, (which they place towards the east parts,) and, out of the same place of Joshua, Jirzon, Lakkum, Jepnael, Heleb, and [p] Reccath; which two last they place near Cæsarea Philippi. To these they add out of Joshua, Nekeb and Adami; for which two Junius readeth Fossa Adamæi, making it no town, but a ditch cast by some of Adamath, as it seems; or at least the custody of which march or limit belonged to the town. To these, out of Numb. xxxiv. 10. they add Sephana, which, 1 Sam. xxx. 28. seems to be called Sipmoth. As for Tichon and Helon, whereof the former they fetch out of Ezek. xlvii. 16. and the latter out of Joshua xix. 33. it may appear by Junius's translation, that neither are to be taken for cities; for the former he readeth Mediani, and for the latter Quercetum. The city of [q] Nephtalim, which they make the native place of Toby, and Naasson near unto it, they fetch out of the vulgar translation, Tob. vii. 7. but in the Greek text there is no sign, neither of the one nor of the other.

SECT. V.

The tribe of Zabulon.

OF Zabulon, or Zebulon, another of the sons of Jacob by Leah, there were mustered at mount Sinai 57,400 able men, besides women, children, and aged unable persons; all which dying in the deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their issues 65,000 fit to bear arms; who inhabited that part of Canaan from Asher to the river Chison, southward, and from the sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean, east and west.

The cities within this tribe which border Asher are, Sicaminum on the sea-shore, of which Joseph. Ant. 13.

[o] This place of the Maccabees warrants no Galgala, or Gilgal, in Nephtali; but may well be understood of Gilgal in Benjamin, or in Manasseh.

[p] This Reccath, or Rakkath, Junius thinks that it is the same with Karthan, (one of these being made of the other by transposition of letters,) of which Karthan we have noted already, that it is also called Kiriathaiim.

[q] In the place 1 Reg. iv. is, which also they bring to prove that there was a city called Nephtalim, as it is evident by the following verses the tribe of Nephtalim is meant, and not any city of that name.

c. 19. Debbaset, of which Joshua xix. 11. Jeconam, or [r]Jokneham, (whose king was [s]slain by Joshua, and the city was given to the Levites,) and Gaba, after called the *city of horsemen*, of a regiment there garrisoned by Herod. Then the city which beareth the name of Zabulon, or the *city of men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, [t]burnt to the ground by Cestius, lieutenant of the Roman army. Adrichomius makes it the birth city of [u]Elon judge of Israel, because he is called Zabulonita; not marking that in the same place he is said to be buried at Ajalon.

To the east of this city of Zabulon is Cateth, of which Joshua xix. 15. on the border of Asher; and beyond it the Lesser [x]Cana of Galilee, where Christ converted water into wine, the native city of Nathaniel, and, as it is thought, of Simon Zelotes. Beyond it begin the mountains of Zabulon, and then the city of Cethron, (in Ziegler, Ghiltron,) which defended itself against Zabulon. Then Bersabe, which standeth in the partition of the upper and nether Galilee, fortified by Josephus against the Romans. Not far from hence standeth Shimron of Meron, whose king was slain by Joshua.

Then Damna, or Dimna, a city of the Levites; then Noa, or rather Neha, of which Joshua xix. 13. then Dothan, or Dothain, where Joseph found his brethren feeding their flocks; the same wherein Elisæus besieged by the Syrians struck them all blind.

Beyond it, towards the east, they imagine [y]Amthar, or Amathar; then Remmon of the Levites. The last of the cities on the north border of Zabulon is Bethsaida, one of the ten cities of Decapolis, situate on the Galilean sea, and watered by the springs of Capernaum, the native city of the

[r] Josh. xii. 22.
[s] Jos. 2. Bel. 19.
[t] Jos. 2. Bel. 22.
[u] Judg. xii. 12.
[x] The Greater Cana is in the tribe of Asher, Josh. xxi. 2. Nathaniel is said to be of Cana in Galilee. Of Simon it may be doubted: for Angelus Caninius reads, Matth. x. 4. Simon Kannites, which word, Luc. vi. is, he thinketh, to be expounded by Zelotes.
[y] The Hebrew Hammethoar (for which the Vulgar hath Amthar, Jos. 19. 13.) Vatablus expounds *quæ gyrat*; Junius joins it with the word going before it, and reads Rimmonem Methoarum, Matth. viii. 11. Mark i. 6. Luke iv. 10.

apostles Peter, Andrew, and Philip. Herein Christ did many miracles; but these people, being no less incredulous than the Capernaims and others, received the same curse of threatened miseries; as, *Woe be unto thee, Bethsaida*, &c.

Along the west border of Galilee, towards the south from Bethsaida, was the strong castle of Magdalum, the habitation of Mary Magdalen, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high-seated city of Jotapata, fortified by Josephus in the Roman war; but in the end, after a long siege, surprised by Vespasian, who slaughtered many thousands of the citizens, and held 1200 prisoners, whereof Josephus the historian was one.

The last and greatest of the cities on that sea [z], and the lake of Genezareth within Zabulon, was that of Tiberias; from whence afterward the Galilean sea also changed name, and was called, *the sea of the city Tiberias*, so named in honour of Tiberius Cæsar; it was one of the ten cities, and the metropolis of the region Decapolitan, and the greatest and last of the Lower Galilee. From hence our Saviour called Matthew, from the toll or custom-house, to be an apostle, and near unto it raised the daughter of Jairus from death; it was built (as Josephus reports) by Herod the tetrarch, the brother of Philip, in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, in the most fruitful part of Galilee, but in a ground full of sepulchres: *Quum juxta nostras leges*, saith he, *ad septem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet;* "Whereas by our law he should be seven "days held as unclean who inhabited in such a place;" by which words, and by the whole place of Josephus, it appears that this Tiberias is not (as some have thought) the same as the old Cinnereth, which was seated, not in Zabulon, but in Nephtalim.

Near unto this Tiberias at Emaus there were hot baths, where Vespasian the emperor encamped against Tiberias:

[z] The names of the chief cities seated about this sea or lake, through which Jordan runneth, were, Capernaum, Tiberias, Bethsaida, Gadara, Tarichea, and they add Cinnereth, which in foretimes gave name to the lake and country. Matth. ix. Luc. v. Joseph. Ant. 18. 3. Joseph. 10. 15. Adrich. in Zab.

more into the land, toward the south-west, is Bethulia, seated on a very high hill, and of great strength, famous by the story of Holofernes and Judith, such as it is. Near which standeth Bethlehem of Zabulon: and adjoining unto it Capharath, fortified by [a]Josephus against the Romans; and Japha, an exceeding strong place, afterward forced by Titus; who in the entrance, and afterward in fury, slew [b]15,000 of the citizens, and carried away above 2000 prisoners.

On the south side are the cities of [c]Cartha of the Levites, and Gabara, of which Josephus in his own Life; then Jafie, according to Adrichomius, (of which Josh. xix. 12.) for he thinks that it is not that Japha of which we spake but now out of Josephus: Jideala, of which Josh. xix. 15. Jerome calls it Jadela; under it, westward, Legio (afterwards a bishop's seat) and the city Belma, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembered Judith vii. 3. otherwise Chelma. Between Legio and Nazeret is the city [d]Saffa, or Saffra, the birth city of Zebedæus, Alphæus, James, and John; then Sephoris, or Sephora, according to Josephus; Sepphorum, according to Brochard; which afterwards, saith Hegesippus and Jerome, was called Diocæsarea, the city of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin Mary; it was walled by Herod the tetrarch, and by him, as [e]Josephus speaks, made the head and defence of Galilee; in another place he saith, *Urbium Galilæarum maximæ Sephoris et Tiberias.* This Sephoris greatly vexed Vespasian ere he won it. Herod Antipas, when he made it the regal seat of the nether Galilee, and surrounded it with a strong wall, called it Autocratorida, which is as much to say as *imperial*, saith Josephus; and it is now but a castle called Zaphet.

To the south-west of this Sephoris, or Diocæsarea, was that blessed place of Nazareth, the city of Mary the mother of Christ, in which he himself was conceived; it standeth

[a] Joseph. in Vita sua.
[b] Joseph. 2. Bell. 25.
[c] Josh. xxi. 34. otherwise Kisloth Thabor, as Junius thinks upon Josh. xix. 12. whence, 1 Chron. vi. 77. it is called Thabor.
[d] Johan. de Montevilla, cap. 4. 20.
[e] Joseph. Ant. 18. 3. et in Vita sua.

between mount Tabor and the Mediterranean sea. In this city he abode chiefly twenty-four years, and was therefore called a Nazarite, as the Christians afterwards were for many years. It was erected into an archbishopric in the following age. Near unto it are the cities Buria, afterwards well defended against the Turks, and Nahalal, of which Josh. xix. 15. and Judg. i. 30. where it is called Nahalol; and Josh. xxi. 35. where it is a city of the Levites, near the sea; adjoining to the river of Chison is Sarid, noted in Joshua for the uttermost of Zabulon.

In this territory of Zabulon there are divers small mountains, but Tabor is the most renowned, by the apparition of Moses and Elias, and by the transfiguration of Christ, in the presence of Peter, James, and John, unto whom Moses and Elias appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the mountain, the empress Helen built a sumptuous chapel.

The chief river of Zabulon is Chison; which, rising out of Tabor, runneth with one stream eastward to the sea of Galilee, and with another stream westward into the great sea. This river of Chison, where it riseth, and so far as it runneth southward, is called Chedumim, or Cadumim; and, for mine own opinion, I take it to be the same which Ptolomy calleth Chorseus, though others distinguish them, and set Chorseus by Cæsarea Palestinæ. There is a second torrent or brook, that riseth in the hills of Bethulia, and falleth into the sea of Galilee by Magdalum; and the third is a branch of a river rising out of the fountains of Capernaum, which falleth also into the same sea, and near [f]Magdalum; which torrent they call Dotham, from the name of the city from which it passeth eastward to Bethsaida, and so joining with Jordanis Parvus, which runneth from the valley of [g]Jephthael, which Joshua reckoneth in the bounds of Zabulon, it endeth in the sea of Galilee.

SECT. VI.

The tribe of Issachar.

THE next adjoining territory to Zabulon, to the south

[f] See Laicstan's map in Ortelius. [g] Josh. xix. 14.

and south-west, was Issachar, who inhabited a part of the nether Galilee, within Jordan; of whom there were increased in Egypt, as appeared by their musters at mount Sinai, 54,400 able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the deserts, there entered the Holy Land 64,300.

The first city of this tribe, near the sea of Galilee, was [h] Tarichea, distant from Tiberias eight English miles, or somewhat more, a city wherein the Jews (by the practice of a certain mutinous upstart, John the son of Levi) took arms against Josephus the historian, then governor of both Galilees. This city was first taken by Cassius, and 3000 Jews carried thence captive; and afterwards with great difficulty by Vespasian, who entered it by the sea-side, having first beaten the Jews in a sea-fight upon the lake or sea of Galilee; he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages, saving that his fury being quenched with the rivers of blood running through every street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bondmen.

Next to Tarichea is placed [i] Cession, or Cishion, of the Levites, and then Issachar, remembered in 1 Kings iv. 17. then Abes, or Ebets, Josh. xix. 20. and Remeth, of which Josh. xix. 21. otherwise Ramoth, 1 Chron. vi. 73. or Jarmuth, Josh. xxi. 29. this also was a city of the Levites, from whose territory the mountains of Gilboa take beginning, and range themselves to the Mediterranean sea, and towards the west as far as the city of Jezrael; between which and Ramoth are the cities of Bethpheses, or Bethpasses, according to Ziegler, and Enadda, or Hen-chadda, near which Saul slew himself; under those [k] Aphec, or Apheca, which Adrichomius placeth in Issachar; between which and Suna he saith that the Philistines encamped against Israel, and afterwards against Saul; a land thirsty of blood; for herein also, saith he, the Syrians, with thirty-two reguli assisting Benhadad,

[h] Tarichea in Sueton.

[i] Josh. xxi. 28. Kishion, which 1 Chron. vi. 72. is called Kedesh.

[k] Josh. xix. 1 Sam. iv. 1. 1 Kings xx. 26. In the latter two places Junius makes Aphek in Asher, according to Josh. xix. 30. In the first he placeth it in Juda, out of Joshua xv. 53. 1 Kings xx.

encountered Achab, and were overthrown and slaughtered: to whom the king of Israel made a most memorable answer, when Benhadad vaunted before the victory; which was, *Tell Benhadad, Let not him that girdeth his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off;* meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the year following, in the fields, as they say, adjoining to this city, was the same vainglorious Syrian utterly broken and discomfited by Achab, and 100,000 footmen of the Aramites, or Syrians, slain: before which overthrow, the servants and counsellors of Benhadad (in derision of the God of Israel) told him, [l] *That the gods of Israel were gods of the mountains; and therefore if they fought with them in the plains, they should overcome them.*

Under Aphec, towards the sea, they set the city of Esdrelon, in the plains of Galilee, called also the great field of Esdrelon and Maggedo; in the border whereof are the ruins of Aphec to be seen, saith Brochard and Breidenbach. After these are the cities of [m] Casaloth, of which 1 Macc. ix. 2. Anem, or Hen-Gannim, of the Levites; and Seesima, or Shahatsima, the west border of Issachar, of which Josh. xix. 22. From hence, ranging the sea-coast, there is found the Castle of Pilgrims; a strong castle, environed with the sea, sometime the storehouse and magazine of the Christians, and built by the earl of St. Giles, or Tolouse.

From the Castle of Pilgrims, the sea maketh a great bay towards the north, and the furthermost shore beginneth mount Carmel, not far from the river Chison, where Elijah assembled all the prophets and priests of Baal, and prayed king Achab, and the people assembled, to make trial, whether the God of Israel or the idol of Baal were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the altar; which done, the priests of Baal prayed, and cut their own flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not; while Elijah in derision told them, that their god *was either in pursuit of his enemies, not at leisure, or perchance asleep*, &c.

[l] 1 Kings xx. 23.
[m] Judith i. 8. and vii. 3. 1 Chron. vi. 73. Josh. xxi. 29.

But at the prayer of Elijah his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many vessels of water thereon, by which miracle the people incensed slew all those idolaters on the banks of Chison adjoining.

At the foot of this mountain, to the north, standeth Caiphas, built, as they say, by Caiphas the high priest. It is also known by the name of Porsina and Porphyria, sometime a suffragan bishop's seat. Returning again from the sea-coast, towards Tiberias, by the banks of Chison, there are found the city of Hapharaim, or Aphraim, and the castles of Mesra and Saba, of which Brochard and Breidenbach; and then Naim on the river Chison, a beautiful city while it stood, in the gates whereof Christ[n] raised from death the widow's only son.

Then Seon, or Shion, named Josh. xix. between the two hills of Hermon, in Issachar; beyond it standeth Endor, famous by reason of the enchantress that undertook to raise up the body of Samuel at the instigation of Saul.

Beyond it stands Anaharath and Rabbith, named Josh. xix. 19, 20. Then Dabarath, as it is named Josh. xxi. 28. or Dobratha, as it is named 1 Chron. vi. 72. This city (which stretcheth itself over Chison) was a city of refuge belonging to the Levites.

Next to Dabarath is Arbela situate, near the caves of those two thieves which so greatly molested Galilee in Herod's time. It joineth on one side to the mountain of Issachar or Hermon, and on the other to the valley of Jezreel; which valley continueth itself from Bethsan, or Scythopolis, the east border of Issachar, even to the Mediterranean sea; two parts whereof are enclosed by the mountains of Gilboa on the south, and by Hermon and the river Chison on the north. In these plains [o] Gideon overthrew the Madianites, and herein, they think, Saul fought against the Philistines, Achab against the Syrians, and the Tartars against the Saracens.

[n] Luke vii.

[o] Called Campus Magnus, 1 Maccab. xii. 49. and Harbathæ for Harabath. 1 Macc. v. 23. and ix. 2. Judg. vi. 1 Sam. xxxi. 1 Kings xx.

SECT. VII.

The half of the tribe of Manasseh.

§. 1.

Of the bounds of this half tribe, and of Scythopolis, Salem, Thersa, and others.

THE next tribe which joineth itself to Issachar, towards the south, is the half of Manasseh, on the west side of Jordan. Manasses was the first begotten of Joseph, the eleventh son of Jacob. His mother was an Egyptian, the daughter of Putiphar, priest and prince of Heliopolis; which Manasses, with his brother Ephraim, the grandchildren of Jacob, were by adoption numbered amongst the sons of Jacob, and made up the number of the twelve patriarchs.

Of Manasseh, there were increased in Egypt, as they were numbered at mount Sinai, 32,200 able men; all which being consumed in the deserts, there entered of their issues 52,700 bearing arms. The territory, which fell to this one half of Manasseh, was bounded by Jordan on the east, and Dora upon the Mediterranean sea on the west, Jezrael on the north, and Machmata is the south border.

The first and principal city which stood in this territory was Bethsan, sometime [p] Nysa, saith Pliny, built by Liber Pater, in honour of his nurse there buried, of the same name, which Solinus confirms. Afterwards, when the Scythians invaded Asia the Less, and pierced into the south to the uttermost of Cœlesyria, they built this city anew, and very magnificent; and it had thereupon the name of Scythopolis, or the city of Scythians, given it by the Greeks.

These barbarous northern people constrained the Jews to fight against their own nation and kindred, by whose hands when they had obtained victory, they themselves set on the Jews which served them, and slew them all. Stephanus makes it the utmost towards the south of Cœlesyria, and Strabo joins it to Galilee. It is seated between Jordan and the hills of Gilboa, *In Aulone ad montes Acrabitenæ*, saith Ziegler. But I find it in the east part of the valley

[p] Plin. lib. 5. c. 18.

of Jezrael near Jordan; after that, Jordan straighteneth itself again into a river, leaving the sea or lake Genezareth. Notwithstanding Montanus describes it far to the west, and towards the Mediterranean sea, near Endor, contrary to Stella, Laicstan, Adrichome, and all other the best authors. This city was the greatest of all those of Decapolis; but the children of Manasseh could not expel the inhabitants thereof, and therefore called it Sane, *an enemy*, or Beth-san, *the house of an enemy*.

Over the walls of this [q] Beth-san, the Philistines hung the body of Saul and his sons, slain at Gilboa. It had, while the Christian religion flourished in those parts, an archbishop, who had nine other bishops of his diocese numbered by Tyrius, in lib. 14. c. 12. but the same was afterwards translated to Nazareth. The later travellers in those parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruins of that city goodly pillars, and other pieces of excellent marble, which witness the stately buildings and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and desolate village.

From Beth-san, keeping the way by Jordan, they find an ancient city called Salem; which city, the ancient rabbins, saith [r] Jerome, do not find to be the same with Jerusalem; there being, in the time of Jerome, and since, a town of that name near Scythopolis before remembered; which, if the place of scripture, Gen. xiii. 18. do not confirm, where the Vulgar readeth *Transivitque in Salem urbem Sichemorum*, (for which others read, *Venit incolumis ad civitatem Sechemûm*, making the word Shaelem not to be a proper name, but an adjective,) yet the place, John iii. 23. where it is said, that John was baptizing in Ænon near Saleim, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this Saleim, of which St. John speaketh, is but contracted of Shahalim, of which in the tribe of Benjamin, 1 Sam. ix. 4. This word Junius maketh to be the plural of Shuhal, of which we read, 1 Sam. xiii. 17. for as for that which is

[q] Judg. i. Josh. xvii. de Bell. Sac.
[r] Hieron. in Epist. ad Evagr. et in Loc. Hebr.

added out of Cant. vi. 12. of Shulammitis, as if it had been as much as a woman of this Saleim near Ænon, it hath no probability.

Not far from thence, where they place Salem, they find [s] Bezek, the city of Adonibezek; Josephus calls it Bala: here it was that Saul assembled the strength of Israel and Juda, to the number of 330,000, when he meant to relieve Jabesh-Gilead, against Naash the Ammonite, who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Near Bezek, is the city of Bethbera, or rather Beth-bara, of which Judg. vii. 24. in the story of Gideon; and then Ephra, or Hophra, wherein Gideon inhabited; in the border whereof stood an altar consecrated to Baal, which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that stone on which Abimelec the bastard slew his seventy brothers, (an heathenish cruelty, practised by the Turks to this day;) and not far hence, between the village of Asophon and Jordan, Ptolomæus Lathurus overthrew Alexander king of the Jews, and slaughtered, as [t] Josephus numbereth them, 3000; but according to Timagenes 5,000: after which victory, as Ptolomy passed by the villages of the Jews, he slew all their women, and caused the young children to be sod in great caldrons, that the rest of the Jews might thereby think that the Egyptians were grown to be men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terror.

Towards the west, and on the border of Issachar, they place the cities of [u] Aner of the Levites, and Abel-Mehola, which Junius, Judg. vii. 22. placeth in Ephraim; it was the habitation of Helisæus the prophet, numbered among those places, 1 Reg. iv. 12. which were given in charge to Baana by Solomon; to whose charge also Tahanac belonged, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted

[s] This city Bezek, by the place Judg. i. 3. seemeth to have been in Judah, Joseph. Ant. lib. 6. c. 5. 1 Sam. xi.

[t] Joseph. Ant. l. 13. c. 21.

[u] This Aner, Junius upon 1 Chron. vi. 70. makes to be the same with Tahanac, of which Josh. xxi. 25. Jerome names it from Aner the confederate of Abraham, Gen. xiv. 13. Josh. xii. 17. 1 Kings xiv.

Joshua, though their king was afterwards hanged, and their city given to the Levites.

In the body of this territory of Manasseh, but somewhat nearer to Jordan than to the Mediterranean sea, were three great cities, to wit, Thersa, whose king was one of those that Joshua slew, which the kings of Israel used for their regal seat, till such time as Samaria was built. From hence the wife of Jeroboam went to Achia to inquire of her son's health; who knowing her, though she were disguised, told her of her son's death.

The second was Thebes, near Samaria, of which name there are both in Egypt and Greece, of great fame; in the assault of the tower of this town, whereinto the citizens retired, the bastard Abimelech was wounded by a weighty stone, thrown by a woman over the wall; who, despairing of his recovery[x], commanded his page to slay him outright, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a woman. But others set this city in Ephraim, near Sichem or Neapolis.

The third is Acrabata, of which the territory adjoining is called Acrabatena, (one of the ten toparchies or governments in Judæa,) for which Jerome, 1 Macc. v. reads Arabathena, but in the Greek it is Acrabatine; Isidore calls it Agrabat. This city had one of the largest territories of all Palestine belonging to the governor thereof. Josephus remembereth it often, as in his second book of the Jews' wars, c. 11, 25, 28. and elsewhere.

The difference between a tetrarchy and a toparchy was, that the first was taken for a province, and the other for a city, with some lesser territory adjoining; and a tetrarch is the same with *præses* in Latin, and president in English, being commonly the fourth part of a kingdom, and thereof so called. [y] Pliny nameth seventeen tetrarchies in Syria; the Holy Land had four, and so hath the kingdom of Ireland to this day, [z] Lempster, Ulster, Connath, and Munster.

To the south-west of Acrabata, they place the cities of

[x] Judg. ix. 54. [y] Plin. l. 5. [z] Euseb. in Chron.

Balaam, or Bilham, and Gethremmon of the Levites; but Junius out of Josh. xxi. 25. and 1 Chron. vi. 70. gathers, that these two are but one, and that Jibleham, Josh. xvi. 11. is another name of the same city.

Then is Jezrael a regal city, set at the foot of the mountains of Gilboa, towards the south-west; herein Jezabel, by a false accusation, caused Naboth to be stoned, to the end she might possess his vineyard adjoining to the city, which Naboth refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his father.

Joram also was cast unburied into the same field, for which his mother [a] Jezabel murdered Naboth.

Towards the sea from Jezrael is the city which they call Gaber; in whose ascent, as Ahaziah king of Juda fled from Jehu, when he had slain Joram, he was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound he died at Mageddo adjoining. The scripture calls this city of Gaber, [b] *Gur*.

Then Adadremmon, near unto which the good king Josias was slain by Necho king of Egypt, in a war unadvisedly undertaken. For Necho marched towards Assyria against the king thereof, by the commandment of God, whom Josias thought to resist in his passage; it was afterwards called Maximianopolis.

A neighbour city to Adadremmon was [c] Maggeddo, often remembered in the scriptures, whose king was slain among the rest by [d] Joshua; yet they defended their city for a long time against Manasseh. The river which passeth by the town may perhaps be the same which Ptolomy calleth Chorseus; and not that of which we have spoken in Zabulon. For because this name is not found in the scriptures, many of those that have described the Holy Land delineate no such river. Moore only sets it down in his Geography of the twelve Tribes; but the river, which passeth by Maggeddo, he understandeth to be but a branch falling thereinto. Laicstan and Schrot make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this scripture in the fifth of Judges, *Then fought the kings of Canaan in Tanaac,*

[a] 2 Kings ix. 25. [b] 2 Kings ix. 27. [c] Judg. i. 5. [d] Josh. xii. 17.

by the waters of Maggeddo. But these authors, and with them Stella, give it no other name than the torrent so called.

But seeing that ancient cosmographers stretch out the bounds of Phœnicia even to Sebaste, or Samaria, and [c]Strabo far beyond it on the sea-coast; and Josephus calls Cæsarea Palæstinæ a city of Phœnicia; yea, Laurentius Corvinus extendeth Phœnicia as far as Gaza: seeing also Ptolomy sets down Chorseus for the partition of Phœnicia and Judæa, this river running east and west parallel with Samaria; it is very probable that this torrent called Maggeddo, after the name of the city which it watereth, is the same which Ptolomy, in his 4th table of Asia, calleth Chorseus. The later travellers of the Holy Land call Maggeddo Subimbre at this day.

§. 2.

Of Cæsarea Palæstinæ, and some other towns.

FROM Maggeddo towards the west, and near the Mediterranean sea, was that glorious city of Cæsarea Palæstinæ; first, the tower of Straton, the same which Pliny calls Apollonia; though Ptolomy sets Apollonia elsewhere, and towards Egypt, between this city and Joppe, to which Vespasian gave the name of Flavia Colonia. It was by Herod rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world; for besides the edifices, which he reared within the walls, of cut and polished marbles, the theatre and amphitheatre, from whence he might look over the seas far away, with the high and stately towers and gates, he forced a harbour of great capacity, being in former times but an open bay; and the wind blowing from the sea, the merchants, haunting that port, had no other hope but in the strength of their cables and anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that kind hath not been found in any kingdom, nor in any age; which, because the materials were fetched from far, and the weight of the stones was such as it exceedeth belief, I have added Josephus's own words of this work, which are these:

[c] Strab. l. 16. Joseph. l. 15. c. 13. Niger.

[f] *Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ classi recipiendæ sufficere: et in viginti ulnarum profundum, prægrandia saxa demisit: quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis vero octodecim, altitudine novem-pedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia;* "To mend "this inconvenience of place," saith Josephus, "he com- "passed in a bay wherein a great fleet might well ride, and "let down great stones twenty fathom deep, whereof some "were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foot "thick; some bigger and some lesser." To this he added an arm or causeway of 200 foot long to break the waves; the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with divers stately towers thereon builded; of which the most magnificent he called Drusus, after the name of Drusus the son-in-law of Cæsar, in whose honour he entitled the city itself, Cæsarea of Palæstine; all which he performed in twelve years' time. It was the first of the eastern cities that received a bishop; afterwards erected into an archbishopric, commanding twenty others under it, saith [g] Tyrius.

St. Jerome nameth Theophilus, Eusebius, Acacius, Euzorus, and Gelasius, to have been bishops thereof. In this city was Cornelius the centurion baptized by St. Peter; and herein dwelt Philip the apostle. St. Paul was herein two years prisoner, under the president Felix, unto the time and government of Porcius Festus; by whom, making his appeal, he was sent to Cæsar. Here, when Herod Agrippa was passing on to celebrate the quinquennalia, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, he was stricken by an angel unto death, saith Josephus.

To the north of Cæsarea standeth Dora, or Naphoth Dor, as some read, Josh. i. 2. so called, saith Adrichomius, because it joineth to the sea, whose king was slain by Joshua. But Junius, for *in Naphoth Dor*, reads *in tractibus Dor;* and so the Vulgar, *in regionibus Dor*, although 1 Kings iv. 11. for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor;* the Septuagint in the place of Joshua call it *Nepheth-*

[f] Joseph. l. 15. c. 13. [g] Lib. 14. c. 12. Bell. Sacr.

Dor, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*; but the true name by other places (as Josh. xii. 23. Judg. i. 27.) may seem to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerful city, and the fourth in account of those twelve principalities or sitarchies which Solomon erected. Junius upon Macc. xv. 11. placeth it between the hill Carmel and the mouth of the river Cherseus; for so some name the river Chorseus, of which we have spoken already.

Into this city, for the strength thereof, Tryphon fled from Antiochus the son of Demetrius, where he was by the same Antiochus besieged with 120,000 footmen, and 8,000 horse: the same perfidious villain that received 200 talents for the ransom of Jonathan[h] Macchabæus, (whom he had taken by treachery,) and then slew him; and after him slew his own master, usurping for a while the kingdom of Syria. It had also a bishop's seat of the diocese of Cæsarea.

From Cæsarea towards the south they place the cities of Capernaum, Gabe, and Galgal; for, besides that Capernaum famous in the Evangelists, they find in these parts, near the west sea, another of the same name. Of Gabe, Jerome *in locis Hebraicis*. [i] The famous Galgal, or Gilgal, was in Benjamin; but this Gilgal they say it was whose king was slain by Joshua.

Then Antipatris, so called of Herod in honour of his father; but in the time of the [k] Macchabees it was called Capharsalama, in the fields whereof Judas Macchabæus overthrew a part of the army of Nicanor, lieutenant to Demetrius; an army drawn into Judæa by a traitorous Jew, called Alcimus; who contended for the priesthood, first under Bacchides, and then under Nicanor. To this was St. Paul carried prisoner from Jerusalem, conducted by 470 soldiers to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In aftertimes the army of Godfrey of Bulloign attempted it in vain; yet was it taken by Baldwin. It was honoured in those days with a bishop's seat, but it is now a poor village, called Assur, saith Brochard. Near unto this city the prophet Jonas was three days preserved in the body of a whale.

[h] 1 Macc. xiii. 24. [i] Gul. Tyr. de Bell. Sac. l. 10. c. 6. [k] 1 Macc. vii. 31.

Into the land, from Antipatris and Cæsarea, standeth Narbata, whereof the territory taketh name; which Cestius the Roman wasted with fire and sword, because the Jews which dwelt at Cæsarea fled thence, and carried with them the books of Moses. Near unto it is the mountain of Abdia, the steward of king Achab, wherein he hid an hundred prophets, and fed them; after which he himself is said to have obtained from God the spirit of prophecy also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the kingdom of Phœnicia.

SECT. I.

The bounds, and chief cities, and founders, and name of this kingdom; and of the invention of letters ascribed to them.

BECAUSE these five tribes, of Asher, Nephtalim, Zabulon, Issachar, and the half of Manasseh, possessed the better part of that ancient kingdom of Phœnicia, to wit, of so much as lay to the south part of Anti-libanus, I have therefore gathered a brief of those kings which have governed therein; at least so many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to posterity: and that the rest have perished, it is not strange; seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of estates and conquests of heathen princes, have been torn, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this kingdom, as touching the south parts, are very uncertain; but all cosmographers do in effect agree that it takes beginning from the north, where that part of Syria which is called Casiotis ends; most of them bounding it by Orthosia to the north of Tripolis. [1] Ptolomy makes it a little larger, as reaching from the river Eleutherus that falls into the sea at the island of Aradus, somewhat to the north of Orthosia, and stretching from thence along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, as far as the river of Chorseus; which seems to be that which the Jews call the tor-

[1] Ptol. 4. Tab. Asiæ.

rent, or river of Maggeddo. [m] Pliny extends it further, and comprehends Joppe within it; Corvinus and Budæus, Joppe and Gaza: *Phœnicia apud priscos appellata*, saith Budæus, *quæ nunc Palæstina Syriæ dicitur*; "It was called "Phœnicia of old," saith he, "which now is called Palæstina "of Syria."

[n] Strabo comprehends in this country of Phœnicia all the sea-side of Judæa and Palæstina, even unto Pelusium, the first port of Egypt. On the contrary, Diodorus Siculus foldeth it up in Cœlesyria, which he boundeth not. But for myself I take a middle course, and like best of Ptolomy's description, who was seldom deceived in his own art. It had in it these famous maritimate cities, (besides all those of the islands,) to wit, Aradus, Orthosia, Tripolis, Botrys, Byblus, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolomais, (or Acon,) Dora, and Cæsarea Palæstinæ: and by reason of the many ports and goodly sea-towns, it anciently commanded the trade of the eastern world; and they were absolute kings of the Mediterranean sea.

The ancient regal seat of those princes was Zidon, built by Zidon the first son of Canaan; and the people then subject to that family were called Zidonians; the same state continuing even unto Joshua's time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one king of all that region, afterwards called Phœnicia; which Procopius also confirmeth in his second book of Vandal Wars. But in process of time, the city of Tyre adjoining became the more magnificent; yet, according to the [o] prophet, it was but a daughter of Zidon, and by them first built and peopled.

But after the death of Moses, and while Joshua yet governed Israel, Agenor, an Egyptian of Thebes, or a Phœnician bred in Egypt, came thence with his sons Cadmus, Phœnix, Cyrus, and Cilix, say Cedrenus and Curtius, and built and possessed the cities of Tyre and Zidon, to wit, the new Tyrus; and brought into Phœnicia (so called after the name of his second son) the use of letters: which also Cadmus, in his pursuit after his sister Europa, taught the Gre-

[m] Plin. l. 5. c. 19. [n] Strab. l. 16. Budæ. de As. l. 4. [o] Isaiah xxiii.

cians. For Taurus king of Crete, when he surprised Tyre, had stolen her thence; of which the poets devised the fable of Jupiter's transformation into a bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. Pomponius Sabinus makes Belus the first king of Phœnicia; and finds Cadmus his successor, whom he calleth his grandchild; and it seemeth that Belus was the father of Agenor, and not Neptune; because the successors of Dido held that name always in reverence, making it a part of their own, as Asdrubal, Hannibal; whose memory Virgil also toucheth in these verses.

Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit
Implevitque mero pateram: quam Belus, et omnes,
A Belo soliti.
The queen anon commands the weighty bowl
(Weighty with precious stones and massy gold)
To flow with wine. This Belus us'd of old,
And all of Belus' line.

Whether this Belus were father or grandfather to Agenor, the matter is not great. But it seems to me by comparing of times, that Belus was ancestor to these Phœnicians, and preceded Agenor. For were Belus, or Jupiter Belus, the son of Neptune by Libya the daughter of Epaphus, or were he the son of Telegonus, according to Eusebius, yet it is agreed that Cecrops then ruled in Attica; and in the end of Cecrop's time, saith St. Augustin, Moses left Egypt, Agenor's successor living at once with Joshua. Now that Agenor returned about the same time into the territory of Zidon, I cannot doubt; neither do I deny, but that he gave that region the name of Phœnicia in honour of his son. But instead of the building of Tyre and Zidon, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both; and therefore was called a founder, as Semiramis and Nabuchodonosor were of Babylon.

For, be it true that Agenor was of the same nation, and brought up in Egypt, where he learned the use of letters, (Egypt flourishing in all kind of learning in Moses's time,) or were he by nation an Egyptian; yet it is very likely that either he came to save his own territory, or otherwise

to defend the coast of Canaan from the Israelites, who were by Moses led out of Egypt, to the great loss and dishonour of that nation, and by Joshua conducted over Jordan, to conquer and possess the Canaanites' land. For though the Egyptians, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the Red sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the male children at the same time, could not hinder the Hebrews from invading Canaan by land, which also they knew had so many powerful nations to defend it; the deserts interjacent, and the strong Edomites, Moabites, Emorites, and Ammonites, their borderers: yet Egypt having such vessels or ships, or galleys, as were then in use, did not in all probability neglect to garrison the sea-coast, or assist Agenor with such forces as they had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the Philistines, which held the shores of Canaan next adjoining unto them, were their friends and confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story, those cities of Phœnicia which Agenor was said to have built, (that is, to have fortified and defended against Joshua, and against the tribes after him, as Zidon, Sor, or Tyre, by Joshua xix. 29. called the strong city Accho, afterwards Ptolomais, Achzib, and Dor,) were all that Phœnicia had in those days.

That the kings of Phœnicia were mighty, especially by sea, it appears, first, by their defence against Israel; secondly by this, that David and Solomon could not master them, but were glad of their alliance; thirdly, that one of their cities, though they were then but *reguli*, defended itself thirteen years against a king of kings, Nabuchodonosor; and that Alexander the Great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed unresistible) spent more time in the recovery of Tyre, than in the conquest of all the cities in Asia.

Other opinions there are, as that of Berosus out of Josephus, who conceives that Tyre was founded by Tyras the son of Japhet. And for the region itself, though Cali-

sthenes derives it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the Greeks from the word *phonos*, of slaughter, because the Phœnicians slew all that came on their coasts; yet for myself, I take it that Phœnix, the son of Agenor, gave it that name. But that either Agenor in Phœnicia, or Cadmus his son in Greece, were the inventors of letters, it is ridiculous; and therefore the dispute unnecesary.

The Ethiopians affirm, that Atlas, Orion, Orpheus, Linus, Hercules, Prometheus, Cadmus, and others, had from them the first light of all those arts, sciences, and civil policies, which they afterwards professed and taught others; and that Pythagoras himself was instructed by the Libyans; to wit, from the south and superior Egyptians; from whom those which inhabited nearer the outlet of Nilus, as they say, borrowed their divinity and philosophy; and from them the Greeks, then barbarous, received civility. Again, the Phœnicians challenge this invention of letters and of learning, acknowledging nothing from the Egyptians at all; neither do they allow that Agenor and his sons were Africans; whence Lucan,

[p] *Phœnices primi (famæ si creditur) ausi*
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.
Phœnicians first (if fame may credit have)
In rude characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that Cadmus was the son of Agenor, and was a Phœnician, and not an Egyptian, it appeareth by that answer made by Zeno, when he in a kind of reproach was called a stranger and a Phœnician:

[q] *Si patria est Phœnix, quid tum? nam Cadmus et ipse*
Phœnix; cui debet Græcia docta libros.
If a Phœnician born I am, what then?
Cadmus was so; to whom Greece owes
The books of learned men.

Out of doubt the Phœnicians were very ancient, and from the records and chronicles of Tyre, [r] Josephus the historian confirms a great part of his antiquities. The Thracians again subscribe to none of these reports; but affirm con-

[p] Lucan. l. 5. 3. [q] Athen 1. Dipnos. [r] Joseph. contra Appionem.

stantly, that the great Zamolxis flourished among them, when Atlas lived in Mauritania, Nilus and Vulcan in Egypt, and Ochus in Phœnicia. Yea, some of the French do not blush to maintain, that the ancient Gauls taught the Greeks the use of letters and other sciences. And do not we know that our bards and druids are as ancient as those Gauls, and that they sent their sons hither to be by them instructed in all kind of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on Moses, the same hath no probability at all; for he lived at such time as learning and arts flourished most, both in Egypt and Assyria, and he himself was brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians from his infancy.

But true it is, that letters were invented by those excellent spirits of the first age, and before the general flood, either by Seth or Enos, or by whom else God knows; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers nations; whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other, as well in this as in many other knowledges; for even in Mexico, when it was first discovered, there were found written books after the manner of those hieroglyphics, anciently used by the Egyptians and other nations; and so had those Americans a kind of heraldry, and their princes differing in arms and scutcheons, like unto those used by the kings and nobility of other nations: [s] *Jura naturalia communia, et generalia*, &c. "Natural laws are common and gene-"ral."

SECT. II.

Of the kings of Tyre.

BUT whatsoever remaineth of the story and kings of Phœnicia, (the book of Zeno, Sachoniatho, Mnaseas, and others of that nation, being no where found,) the same is to be gathered out of the scriptures, Josephus, and Theophilus Antiochenus.

Agenor lived at once with Joshua, to whom succeeded

[s] Juriscons.

Phœnix, of whom that part of Canaan, and so far towards the north as Aradus, took the name of Phœnicia: what king succeeded Phœnix it doth not appear; but at such time as the Grecians besieged Troy, Phasis governed Phœnicia.

In Jeremy's time, and while Jehoiakim ruled in Juda, the Tyrians had a king apart; for Jeremy xxvii. 3. speaketh of the kings of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, &c. as of several kings.

In Xerxes' time, and when he prepared that incredible army wherewith he invaded Greece, Tetramnestus ruled that part of Phœnicia about Tyre and Zidon; who commanded, as some writers affirm, Xerxes' fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300 galleys which himself brought to his aid; for at this time it seemeth that the Phœnicians were tributaries to the Persians: for being broken into *reguli* and petty kings in Jeremy's time, they were subjected by Nabuchodonosor; of whose conquests, in the chapter before remembered, Jeremiah prophesied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded Tetramnestus, remembered by D. Siculus in his fourteenth book.

Strato, his successor, and king of Zidon, Alexander Macedon threw out, because of his dependency upon Darius, and that his predecessors had served the east empire against the Grecians. But divers kings, of whom there is no memory, came between Tennes and Strato. For there were consumed 130 years, and somewhat more, between Xerxes and Alexander Macedon. And this man was by Alexander esteemed the more unworthy of restitution, because (saith Curtius, l. 4.) he rather submitted himself by the instigation of his subjects, (who foresaw their utter ruin by resistance,) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

Of this Strato, [t] Athenæus out of Theopompus reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and most voluptuous; also that he appointed certain games and prizes for women-dancers and singers; whom he to this end chiefly invited and assembled: that having beheld the most beautiful and

[t] Athen. l. 12. c. 13.

lively among them, he might recover them for his own use and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one Strato king of these coasts,[u] St. Jerome and others make mention; who having heard that the Persians were near him with an army too weighty for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that empire, and his adhering to the Egyptians, he determining to kill himself, but fainting in the execution, his wife, being present, wrested the sword out of his hand, and slew him; which done, she also therewith pierced her own body, and died.

After Alexander was possessed of Zidon, and the other Strato driven thence, he gave the kingdom to Hephæstion to dispose of; who having received great entertainment of one of the citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompense him therewith, and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this citizen, no less virtuous than rich, desired Hephæstion that this honour might be conferred on some one of the blood and race of their ancient kings, and presented unto him Balonymus, whom Curtius calls Abdolominus; Justin, Abdolomius; and Plutarch, Alynomus: who, at the very hour that he was called to this regal estate, was with his own hands working in his garden, setting herbs and roots for his relief and sustenance; though otherwise a wise man, and exceeding just.

These were the ancient kings of Zidon; whose estate being afterwards changed into popular or aristocratical, and by times and turns subjected to the emperors of the east, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the tribe of Asher.

The kings of Tyre, who they were before Samuel's time, it doth not appear: Josephus the historian, as is said, had many things wherewith he garnished his Antiquities from the Tyrian chronicles; and out of Josephus and Theophilus Antiochenus there may be gathered a descent of some twenty kings of the Tyrians; but these authors, though they both pretend to write out of Menander Ephesius, do in

[u] Hieron. l. 1. cont. Jovin.

no sort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first king of the Tyrians that Josephus and Theophilus remember, whom Theophilus calls Abemalus; the same perchance that the son of Sirach mentioneth in his 46th chapter, speaking of the princes of the Tyrians.

To this Abibalus, Suron succeeded, if he be not one and the same with Abibalus. David, saith [x] Eusebius out of Eupolemus, constrained this Suron to pay him tribute, of whom also David complaineth, Psalm lxxxiii.

Hiram succeeded Suron, whom Josephus calls Irom, and Theophilus sometimes Hieromenus, sometimes Hieromus, but Tatian and Zonaras Chiram. He entered into a league with David, and sent him cedars, with masons and carpenters, to perform his buildings in Jerusalem, after he had beaten thence the Jebusites. The same was he that so greatly assisted Solomon; whom he not only furnished with cedars, and other materials towards the raising of the temple, and with great sums of money, but also he joined with him in his enterprise of the East India, and of Ophir, and furnished Solomon with mariners and pilots; the Tyrians being of all nations the most excellent navigators; and lent him 120 talents of gold. Of this [y] Hiram, there is not only mention in divers places of scripture, but in Josephus's Antiquities, the 7th and 8th chap. ver. 2, 3. in Theophilus's 3d book, in Tatianus's oration against the Greeks, and in Zonaras, tome the first. This prince seemed to be very mighty and magnificent; he despised the twenty towns which Solomon offered him; he defended himself against that victorious king David; and gave his daughter in marriage to [z] Solomon, called the Zidonian; for whose sake he was contented to worship Asteroth, the idol of the Phœnicians. Hiram lived 53 years.

Baleastartus, whom [a] Theoph. Antiochenus calleth Bazo-

[x] Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4
[y] 2 Sam. v. &c. 2 Sam. v. 1 Kings i. 9. 20. 1 Chron. xiv. 2 Chron. ii. 8, 9.
[z] 1 Kings xi.
[a] Theoph. seventeen years.

rus, succeeded Hiram king of Tyre and Zidon, and reigned seven years, according to Josephus.

Abdastartus, the eldest son of Baleastartus, governed nine years, and lived but twenty years according to Josephus: but after Theophilus he reigned twelve years, and lived fifty-four, who being slain by the four sons of his own nurse, the eldest of them held the kingdom twelve years.

Astartus, brother to Abdastartus, recovered the kingdom from this usurper, and reigned twelve years.

[b] Astarimus, or Atharimus, after [b] Theophilus, a third brother, followed Astartus, and ruled nine years, and lived in all fifty-four.

[c] Phelles the fourth son of Baleastartus, and brother to the three former kings, slew Astarimus, and reigned eight months, and lived fifty years.

Ithobalus, (or Juthobalus in Theophilus,) son to the third brother Astarimus, who was the chief priest of the goddess Astarta, which was a dignity next unto the king, revenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his uncle [d] Phelles, and reigned thirty-two years; the same which in 1 Kings xvi. is called Ethbaal, whose daughter Jezebel Achab married.

Badezor, or Bazor, the son of Ithobalus, or [e] Ethbaal, brother to Jezebel, succeeded his father, and reigned six years, and lived in all forty-five.

Mettimus succeeded Badezor, and reigned but nine years, saith [f] Josephus; he had two sons, Pygmalion and Barca, and two daughters, Elisa and Anna.

Pygmalion reigned after Mettimus his father forty years, and lived fifty-six. In the seventh year of whose reign Elisa sailed into Africa, and built Carthage, 143 years and eight months after the temple of Solomon; which by our account was 289 years after Troy was taken, and 143 before Rome; and therefore that fiction by Virgil of Æneas

[b] Joseph. 54. Theoph. 58.
[c] Theoph.
[d] Joseph. 32. Theoph. 12.
[e] 1 Kings xvi. 31. Joseph. six years. Theoph. 26.
[f] Joseph. 9. Theoph. 29.

and Dido must be far out of square. For Pygmalion, covetous of Sicheus's riches, who had married his sister Elisa, slew him traitorously as he accompanied him in hunting; or, if we believe [g] Justin and Virgil, at the altar: whereupon Elisa, fearing to be despoiled of her husband's treasure, fled by sea into Africa, as aforesaid; whom when Pygmalion prepared to pursue, he was by his mother's tears, and by threats from the oracle, arrested. Barca accompanied his sister, and assisted her in the erection of Carthage; and from him sprang that noble family of the Barcæ in Africa, of which race descended many famous captains, and the great Hannibal. Servius interprets this name of Dido by Virago, because of her manlike acts; others from Jedidia, a surname of Solomon.

Eluleus succeeded Pygmalion, and reigned thirty-six years; the same that overthrew the fleet of Salmanassar in the port of Tyre; notwithstanding which, he continued his siege before it on the land-side five years, but in vain.

After Eluleus, Ethobales governed the Tyrians, who vaunted himself to be as wise as Daniel; and that he knew all secrets, saith Ezekiel, of whom the prophet writeth at large in his 28th chapter: out of whom it is gathered that this prince died, or was slain in that long siege of Nabuchodonosor; who surrounded and attempted Tyre thirteen years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed Ethobales, and reigned ten years a tributary, perchance to Nabuchodonosor; for after his death it was governed by divers judges, succeeding each other; first by Ecnibalus, then by Chelbis, Abarus the priest, Mittonus, and Gerastus, who held it among them some seven years and odd months; after whom Balatorus commanded therein as a king for one year; after him Merbalus, sent from Babylon, four years; after him Irom, sent thence also, twenty years. In the 17th of whose reign Cyrus began to govern Persia.

[g] Justin. l. 11. Virgil. l. 1.

SECT. III.

Of Bozius's conceit, that the Edumeans inhabiting along the Red sea were the progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.

OF the great mutations of this kingdom and state of the Tyrians, mixed with a discourse of divers other nations, there is one Bozius that hath written a tract at large, entitled, *De Ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other cities, yea in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance who only is unchangeable and the same for ever; yet whereas the said Bozius, enforcing here-hence that the prosperity and ruin of the Tyrians were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true religion, to prove this his assertion, supposeth the Tyrians to have been Edumeans, descended from Esau, Jacob's brother: first, it can hardly be believed that Tyre, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly devout and religious. But to this end ([h] besides the proof which the scriptures give of Hiram's good affection, when Solomon built the temple) he brings many conjectural arguments, whereof the strongest is their pedigree and descent; it being likely, in his opinion, that the posterity of Esau received from him by tradition the religion of Abraham and Isaac. That the Tyrians were Edumeans he endeavours to shew, partly by weak reasons painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight; partly by authority. For Strabo, Herodotus, Pliny, and others, witness that the Tyrians came from the Red sea, in which there were three islands, called Tyrus, Aradus, and Zidon; which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the cities of Phœnicia. Considering therefore that all the coast of the Red sea was (in his opinion) under the Edumeans, as Elah and Esiongaber, or under the Amalekites, who descended of Amalek the nephew of Esau, whose chief city was Madian, so called of Madian the son of Abraham

[h] Boz. de Ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7.

by Cethura, whose posterity did people it; the consequence appears good, (as he takes it,) that the Tyrians originally were Edomites; differing little or nothing in religion from the children of Israel. Hereunto he adds, that Cadmus and his companions brought not into Greece the worship of Astartis, the idol of the Sidonians. That the parents of Thales and Pherecydes being Phœnicians, themselves differed much in their philosophy from the idolatrous customs of the Greeks. That in Teman, a town of the Edumeans, was an university, wherein, as may appear by Eliphas the Temanite, who disputed with Job, religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of Bozius, who labouring to prove one paradox by another, deserves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were Edumeans, they were then of the true religion, or well affected to God and his people; neither is it true that they were Edumeans at all. In what religion Esau brought up his children, it is nowhere found written; but that himself was a profane man, and disavowed by God, the scriptures in plain terms express. That his posterity were idolaters is directly proved in the 25th chapter of the 2d book of Chronicles. That the Edomites were perpetual enemies to the house of Israel, save only when David and some of his race, kings of Judah, held them in subjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant of David's unfriendly behaviour amongst them, when first they were subdued? Surely, it was not any argument of kindred or alliance between Tyrus and mount Seir, that Hiram held such good correspondence with David, even then when Joab slew all the males of Edom: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to Israel, that the Edomites were so ill entreated. It seemeth that the piety and ancient wisdom of Eliphaz the Temanite was then forgotten, and the Edumeans punished for being such as David in his own days found them. Although indeed the city of Teman, whence Eliphas came to reason with Job, is not that in Edumea, but another of the same name, lying east from the sea of

Galilee, and adjoining to Hus, the country of Job, and to Sueh the city of Bildad the Shuite, as both such chorographers who best knew those parts do plainly shew, and the holy text makes manifest. For Job is said to have exceeded in riches, and Solomon in wisdom, all the people of the east; not the inhabitants of mount Seir, which lay due south from Palestina. True it is, that Eliphaz the son of Esau had a son called Teman, but that fathers were wont in those days to take name of their sons, I no where find. And Ishmael also had a son called Thema, of whom it is not unlike that Theman in the east had the name; forasmuch as in the seventh chapter of the book of Judges, the Midianites, Amalekites, and all they of the east, are called Ishmaelites. And he that well considers how great and strong a nation Amalek was, which durst give battle to the host of Israel, wherein were 600,000 able men, will hardly believe that such a people were descended from one of Esau's grandchildren. For how powerful and numberless must the forces of all Edom have been, if one tribe of them, yea, one family of a tribe, had been so great! surely mount Seir, and all the regions adjoining, could not have held them. But we nowhere find that Edom had to do with Amalek, or assisted the Amalekites, when Saul went to root them out. For Amalek is nowhere in scripture named as a tribe of Edom, but a nation of itself, if distinct from the Ishmaelites. The like may be said of Midian, that the founder thereof being son to Abraham by Keturah, doubtless was no Edomite. And thus much in general for all the seigniory of the Red sea coast, which Bozius imagines the Edumeans to have held: if the Edomites in aftertimes held some places, as Elan and Ezion-gaber on the Red sea shore, yet in Moses's time, which was long after the building of Tyre, they held them not. For Moses himself saith, that Israel did compass all the borders of Edom; within which limits had Midian stood, Moses must needs have known it, because he had sojourned long in that country, and there had left his wife and children, when he went into Egypt.

But conjectural arguments, how probable soever, are

needless in so manifest a case. For in the 83d Psalm, Edom, Amalek, and Tyre, are named as distinct nations; yea, the Tyrians and Sidonians being one people, as all good authors shew, and Bozius himself confesseth, were Canaanites, as appears Gen. x. 15, 19. appointed by God to have been destroyed, and their lands given to the children of Asher, Josh. xxix. because they were idolaters, and of the cursed seed of Canaan, not cousins to Israel, nor professors of the same religion. For though Hiram said, *Blessed be God who hath sent king David a wise son;* we cannot infer that he was of David's religion. The Turk hath said as much of Christian princes, his confederates. Certain it is that the Sidonians then worshipped Astaroth, and drew Solomon also to the same idolatry.

Whereas Hiram aided Solomon in building the temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of Solomon great provision of corn and oil, and the offer of twenty towns or villages in Galilee. And if we rightly consider things, it will appear that Hiram in all points dealt merchant-like with Solomon. He allowed him timber, with which Libanus was and yet is overpestered, being otherwise apt to yield silks; as the Andarine silks, which come from thence, and other good commodities. For corn and oil, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well spare to Solomon. Also gold for land; wherein Solomon was the wiser, who having got the gold first, gave to Hiram the worst villages that he had, with which the Tyrian was ill pleased. But it was a necessary policy which enforced Tyrus to hold league with Israel. For David had subdued Moab, Ammon, Edom, the Aramites, and a great part of Arabia, even to Euphrates; through which countries the Tyrians were wont to carry and recarry their wares on camels to their fleets on the Red sea, and back again to Tyrus; so that Solomon, being lord of all the countries through which they were to pass, could have cut off their trade.

But the Israelites were no seamen, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their adventures. Yet Solomon,

as lord of the sea-towns, which his father had taken from the Philistines, might have greatly distressed the Tyrians, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which Hiram knowing, was glad (and no marvel) that Solomon rather meant as a man of peace to employ his father's treasure in magnificent works, than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between Solomon and Hiram are no strong arguments of piety in the Tyrians, so those other proofs, which Bozius frames negatively upon particular examples, are very weak. For what the religion of Cadmus was, I think, no man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning than the Greeks, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased divine honours, which his daughters, nephews, and others of his house obtained, but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. Thales and Pherecydes are but single examples. Every savage nation hath some whose wisdom excelleth the vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral wisdom of these men express any true knowledge of the true God: only they made no good mention of the gods of Greece, whom, being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that Cadmus and Thales being Tyrians are not known to have taught idolatry, therefore the Tyrians were not idolaters. But this is of force, that Carthage, Utica, Leptis, Cadiz, and all colonies of the Tyrians (of which I think the islands before mentioned in the Red sea to have been, for they traded in all seas) were idolaters, even from their first beginnings; therefore the Tyrians who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their idolatry from Solomon's time onwards is acknowledged by Bozius, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kind of devout Edomites. In which fancy he is so peremptory, that he styleth men of contrary opinion *impios politicos*; as if it were impiety to think that

God (who even among the heathen, which have not known his name, doth favour virtue and hate vice) hath often rewarded moral honesty with temporal happiness. Doubtless this doctrine of Bozius would better have agreed with Julian the apostate than with Cyril. For if the Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, and all those nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most, when they drew nearest unto the true religion; what may be said of the foul idolatry which grew in Rome, as fast as Rome itself grew; and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great battles did the Romans win, in which they vowed not either a temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods? Yea, what one nation, save only that of the Jews, was subdued by them, whose gods they did not afterwards entertain in their city? Only the true God, which was the God of the Jews, they rejected, upbraiding the Jews with him, as if he were unworthy of the Roman majesty. Shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion, which heathen writers used against the Christians in the primitive church, that such idolatry had caused the city of Rome to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperity were a sign or effect of true religion. Such is the blind zeal of Bozius, who writing against those whom he falsely terms impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour; who, having once either foolishly embraced the dreams of others, or vainly fashioned in their own brains any strange chimeras of divinity, condemn all such in the pride of their zeal, as atheists and infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pity it is that such mad dogs are oftentimes encouraged by those who, having the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious virtue of an hypocrite.

CHAP. IX.

Of the tribe of Ephraim; and of the kings of the ten tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

SECT. I.

Of the memorable places in the tribe of Ephraim.

HAVING now passed over Phœnicia, we come to the next territory adjoining, which is that of Ephraim; sometime taken, [i]*per excellentiam*, for the whole kingdom of the ten tribes. Ephraim was the second son of Joseph, whose issues, when they left Egypt, were in number 45,000; all which dying in the deserts, Joshua excepted, there entered the Holy Land of their children, grown to be able men, 32,500, who sat down on the west side of Jordan, between Manasseh and Benjamin; who bounded Ephraim by the north and south, as Jordan and the Mediterranean sea did by the east and west.

The first and chief city which Ephraim had was Samaria, the metropolis of the kingdom of Israel, built by Amris, or Homri, king thereof, and seated on the top of the mountain Somron, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the sea-coast. It was afterwards called Sebaste, or Augusta, in honour of Augustus Cæsar. This city is often remembered in the scriptures, and magnificent it was in the first building; for, as Brochard observeth, the ruins which yet remain, and which Brochard found greater than those of Jerusalem, tell those that behold them what it was when it stood upright; for to this day there are found great store of goodly marble pillars, with other hewn and carved stone, in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the sons of Hyrcanus the high priest; restored and built by the first Herod, the son of Antipater; who, to flatter Cæsar, called it Sebaste. Herein were the prophets Helisæus and Abdias buried,

[i] Psalm lix. lxxviii, cviii. Par. 25.

and so was John Baptist. It now hath nothing but a few cottages filled with Grecian monks.

Near Samaria, towards the south, is the hill of Bethel, and a town of that name; on the top of which mountain Jeroboam erected one of his golden calves to be worshipped, with which he seduced the Israelites.

In sight of this mountain of Bethel was that ancient city of Sichem, after the restoration called [k] Neapolis, now Pelosa, and Napolasa: it was destroyed by Simeon and Levi, in revenge of the ravishment of their sister Dinah; and after that by Abimelech evened with the soil. Jeroboam raised it up again, and the Damascenes a third time cast it down.

Under Sichem, towards the sea, standeth Pharaton, or Pirhathon, on the mountain [l] Amalek, the city of Abdon judge of Israel; and under it Bethoron of the Levites, built, as it is said, by Sara, the daughter of Ephraim. Near to this city, Judas Maccabæus overthrew Seron and Lysias, lieutenants to Antiochus. This city had Solomon formerly repaired and fortified.

Between Bethoron and the sea standeth Samir, of which Josh. x. and Saron, whose king was slain by [m] Joshua; it is also mentioned Acts ix. 35. And of this Saron the valley taketh name, which, beginning at Cæsarea Palæstinæ, extendeth itself along the coast as far as Joppe, saith Adrichome. Though indeed the name Sarona is not particularly given to this valley, but to every fruitful plain region; for not only this valley is so called, to wit, between Cæsarea and Joppe, but that also between the mountain Tabor and the sea of Galilee; for so St. Jerome, upon Isaiah xxxv. interprets the word Saron; and so doth the same father, in his commentaries upon Abdia, read Saron for Assaron, understanding thereby a plain near Lidda; which Lidda, in his time, was called Diospolis, or the city of Jupiter, one of the toparchies of Judæa, the fifth in dignity, (or the third after Pliny,) where St. Peter (*non sua sed Christi virtute*)

[k] Sichar. John iv. 5. Maborthan Joseph. 11. Ant. 1.

[l] Judg. xii. 15.

[m] Josh. xii. 18.

cured Æneas. [n] Niger calls all that region, from Antilibanus to Joppe, Sarona. This Joppe was burnt to the ground by the Romans, those ravens and spoilers of all estates, disturbers of commonweals, usurpers of other princes' kingdoms; who, with no other respect led, than to amplify their own glory, troubled the whole world; and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most savage and barbarous nations.

In Diospolis (saith Will. of Tyre) was [o] St. George beheaded and buried; in whose honour and memory Justinian the emperor caused a fair church to be built over his tomb; these be Tyrius's words: *Relicta a dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, et Joppe, per-late patentem planitiem Eleutheriam pertranseuntes, Liddam quæ est Diospolis, ubi et egregii martyris Georgii usque hodie sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt, ejus ecclesiam quum ad honorem ejusdem martyris pius et orthodoxus princeps Romanorum, Augustus Justinianus multo studio et devotione prompta ædificari præceperat*, &c. "They having left," saith he, "on the "right hand, the sea-towns Antipatris and Joppe, passing "over the great open plain of Eleutheria, came to Lidda, "which is Diospolis, where the sumptuous tomb of the fa-"mous martyr St. George is at this day shewed: whose "church, when the godly and orthodox prince of the Ro-"mans, high and mighty Justinian, had commanded to be "built, with great earnestness and present devotion," &c. Thus far Tyrius, by whose testimony we may conjecture that this St. George was not that Arian bishop of Alexandria, but rather some better Christian; for this of Alexandria was slain there in an uproar of the people, and his ashes cast into the sea, as [p] Ammianus Marcellinus reports. And yet also it may be, that this Georgius was a better Christian than he is commonly thought; for his words of the temple of Genius, "How long shall this sepulchre stand?" occasioned the uproar of the people against him, as fearing

[n] Acts ix. Luke xxiii. Niger. Comm. 4. Asiæ fol. 503. 14.

[o] Of this St. George, see more above in this second book, c. 7. sect. 3. §. 5.

[p] Lib. 22. c. 11.

lest he would give attempt to overthrow that beautiful temple. This also Marcellinus reports, who though he says that this Georgius was also deadly hated of the Christians, who else might have rescued him; yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the sea, lest if their relicks had been gathered up, churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not this Georgius, whose name lives in the right honourable order of our knights of the garter, but rather another, whom Tyrius, above cited, witnesseth to have been buried at Lidda, or Diospolis. The same also is confirmed by [q] Vitriac. St. Jerome affirms, that it was sometimes called Tigrida; and while the Christians inhabited the Holy Land, it had a bishop suffragan.

Near to Lydda, or Diospolis, standeth Ramatha of the Levites, or Aramathia; afterward Rama and Ramula, the native city of Joseph, which buried the body of Christ. [r] There are many places which bear this name of Rama; one they set in the tribe of Judah near Thecua, in the way of Hebron; another in Nephtalim, not far from Sephet; a third in Zabulon, which, they say, adjoineth to Sephoris; a fourth, which they make the same with Silo; and a fifth, which is this Rama, in the hills of Ephraim, called Rama-Sophim, where Samuel lived, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the north, along the coast, are Helon, or Ajalon of the Levites, of which 1 Chron. vi. Apollonia, of which [s] Josephus in his Antiquities, and in the Wars of the Jews. Also Balsalisa (for which Junius, 2 Kings iv. 42. reads Planities Shalistæ) they place hereabout in this tribe of Ephraim; but Junius, upon 1 Sam. ix. where we read of the land of Shalisha, findeth it in Benjamin.

On the other side of the mountains of Ephraim standeth Gofna, one of the toparchies or cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the country about it taketh name.

[q] Salig. tom. 6. c. 4.
[r] See in the tribe of Benjamin, c. 12. §. 1.
[s] Ant. 13. 21. de Bell. Jud. 1. 6.

Then [t] Thamnath-sara, or, according to the Hebrew, Thimnath-serach, one also of the ten toparchies or presidencies of Judæa, which they call Thamnitica, a goodly city and strong, seated on one of the high hills of Ephraim, on the north of the hill called Gaas; which city and territory Israel gave unto their leader Joshua, who also amplified it with buildings, near which he was buried. His sepulchre remained in [u] St. Jerome's time, and over it the sun engraven, in memory of that greatest of wonders which God wrought in Joshua's time.

In the places adjoining standeth Adarsa, or Adasa, where [x] Judas Maccabæus, with 3000 Jews, overthrew the army of Nicanor, lieutenant of Syria, near to Gaser, or Gezer, which Joshua took, and hung their king, a city of the Levites. It was afterwards taken by Pharaoh of Egypt, the people all slain, and the city razed: Solomon rebuilt it.

To the east of this place is the frontier city of Jefleti, of which Josh. xvi. 3. otherwise Pelethi, whence David had part of his pretorian soldiers, under the charge of Benaia. Then that high and famous mountain and city of Silo, whereon the ark of God was kept so many years, till the Philistines got it.

To this they join the city of [y] Machmas, or Michmas, in which Jonathan Maccabæus inhabited, a place often remembered in the scriptures. It standeth in the common way from Samaria towards Jerusalem, and is now called Byra.

Then the village of Naioth, where Saul prophesied; and near it [z] Ephron, one of those cities which Abijah recovered from Jeroboam, after the great overthrow given him. Then Kibtsaim of the Levites, of which Josh. xxi. 22. which Junius thinks to be the same with Jokmeham, of which 1 Chron. vi. 68. As for Absalom's Baal-hazor, which they find hereabout, Junius reads it the plain of Chatzor, and finds it in the tribe of Judah; as Joshua xv. we read of two Chat-

[t] Judg. ii. 9. it is called Thimnath-Chores, Josh. xix. 50.
[u] Hieron. in loc. Heb.
[x] 1 Macc. vii. 40.
[y] See in Benjamin. 1 Macc. ix. v. ult.
[z] 1 Kings iv. And see Rama in Benjamin.

ors in that tribe, one near Kadesh, ver. 23. and the other he same as Chetzron, ver. 25. towards Jordan.

In this tribe also they find the city of Mello, whose citizens, they say, joined with the Sichemites in making the bastard Abimelech king; adding, that for the building thereof, with other cities, Solomon raised a tribute upon the people. But it seems that Mello, or [a] Millo, is a common name of a strong fort or citadel; and so Junius, for *domus Millo*, reads *incolæ munitionis;* and for *Salomo ædificabat Millo*, he reads *ædificabat munitionem;* and so the Septuagint read τὴν ἄκραν in that place. And without doubt the Millo which Solomon built cannot be that of Sichem, but another in Jerusalem.

The other cities of mark in Ephraim are Taphuach, whose king was slain by Joshua; and Janoach, or Janoah, spoiled by Teglatphalassar; Pekah then governing Israel, with divers others, but of no great fame.

The mountains of Ephraim sometimes signify the greatest part of the land of the sons of Joseph, on the west of Jordan, several parts whereof are the hill of Samron, or Samaria, 1 Reg. xvi. 24. [b] the hill of Gahas, Judg. ii. 9. the hill of Tsalmon, or Salmon, Judg. ix. 48. the hills of the region of Tsuph, or Tsophim, Judg. ix. 5. where Rama-Tsophim stood, which was the city of Samuel.

The great plenty of fruitful vines upon the sides of these mountains was the occasion that Jacob, in the spirit of prophecy, Gen. xlix. 22. compared Joseph's two branches, Ephraim and Manasseh, to the branches of a fruitful vine planted by the well side, and spreading her [c] daughter-branches along the wall: which allegory also Ezek. xxii. in his lamentation for Ephraim (that is, for the ten tribes, whose

[a] Judg. ix. 6, 20. 1 Reg. xi. 27. Vatablus expounds Millo in this place, *Locum publicum necessarium civibus Hierosolymitanis atque Israelitis.* 2 Kings xv. 29. Josh. xvii. 15, 16.

[b] Also the hill of Phinehas, where Eleazar the high priest, the son of Aaron, was buried, Josh. xxiv. 33. And the two tops of hills, Gerizzim, where the blessings, and Hebal, where the cursings were to be read to the people; of which Deut. xi. and xxvii. Josh. viii.

[c] It seemeth that Jacob in this prophecy the rather useth the word *daughters* for *branches*, thereby the more plainly to signify colonies; which in the Hebrew phrase are called *daughters* of the metropolis, as in Joshua and elsewhere often.

head was Ephraim) prosecutes; as also in his lamentation for Judah he followeth the other allegory of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 9. comparing Judah to a lion. Upon the top of one of the highest of these hills of Ephraim, which overlooketh all the plains on both sides of Jordan, they find the castle called Dok, which they make to be the same with Dagon, of which Joseph. 1. Bell. Jud. c. 2. in which castle, as it is 1 Mac. xvi. Ptolemy most traitorously, at a banquet, slew Simon Maccabæus his father-in-law.

Among the rivers of this tribe of Ephraim they name Gaas, remembered in 2 Sam. xxiii. 30. where, though Junius reads *Hiddai ex una vallium Gahasi*, yet the Vulgar and Vatablus read Giddai, of the river of Gaas. Also in this tribe they place the river of Carith, by which the prophet Elias abode during the great drought, where he was [d] fed by the ravens; and after that the river was dried up, he travelled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards Sidon, where he was relieved by the poor widow of Zarepta, whose dead son he revived, and increased her pittance of meal and oil, whereby she sustained her life.

SECT. II.

Of the kings of the ten tribes, from Jeroboam to Achab.

OF the first kings of Israel I omit in this place to speak, and reserve it to the catalogue of the kings of Judah; of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the kings of the ten tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from Judah and Benjamin, now it followeth to speak. The first of these kings was Jeroboam the son of Nebat, an Ephrathite of Zereda, who being a man of strength and courage, was by Solomon made overseer of the buildings of the Millo, or munition in Jerusalem, for as much as belonged to the charge of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, and so many of them as wrought in those works. During which time, as he went from Jerusalem, he encountered the prophet Ahijah, who made him know that he was by God destined to be king of

[d] 1 Reg. xvii. 5.

Israel, and to command ten of the twelve tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to Solomon's knowledge, he fled into Egypt to Shishak, whom Eusebius calleth Osochores, whose daughter he married; the predecessor of which Shishak (if not the same) did likewise entertain Adad the Idumean, when he was carried young into Egypt, from the fury of David and his captain Joab, which Adad the king of Egypt married to his wife's sister Taphnes, using both him and Jeroboam as instruments to shake the kingdom of Judæa, that himself might the easilier spoil it, as he did; for in the fifth year of Rehoboam, [e] Shishak sacked the city of Jerusalem, and carried thence all the treasure of David and Solomon, and all the spoils which David took from Adadezer of Soba, with the presents of Tohu king of Hamath, which were of an inestimable value.

This Jeroboam, after the death of Solomon, became lord of the ten tribes; and though he were permitted by God to govern the Israelites, and from a mean man exalted to that state, yet preferring the policies of the world before the service and honour of God, (as fearing that if the tribes under his rule should repair to Jerusalem, to do their usual sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees,) he erected two golden calves, one in Dan, and another in Bethel, for the people to worship; (an imitation of the Egyptian Apis, saith [f] St. Ambrose, or rather of Aaron's calf in Horeb;) further, he made election of his priests out of the basest and unlearned people. This king made his chief seat and palace at Sichem: he despised the warning of the Judean prophet, whom Josephus calleth Adon, and Glycas, Joel; his hand thereafter withered, and was again restored: but continuing in his idolatry, and hardened upon occasion that the prophet returning was slain by a lion, Ahijah makes him know that God purposed to root out his posterity.

He was afterwards overthrown by [g] Abia king of Judah, and died after he had governed twenty-two years, whom Nadab his son succeeded; who, in the second year of his reign, together with all the race of Jeroboam, was slain,

[e] 1 Reg. xiv. [f] Ambrose on Rom. i. [g] 1 Kings xi. 12—15.

and rooted out by Baasha, who reigned in his stead; so Nadab lived king but two years.

Baasha the son of Ahijah, the third king after the partition, made war with Asa king of Judah: he seated himself in Thersa, and fortified Rama against Judah, to restrain their excursions. Hereupon Asa entertained Benhadad of Damascus against him, who invaded Nephtalim, and destroyed many places therein: the mean while Asa carried away the materials, with which Baasha intended to fortify Rama, but being an idolater, he was threatened by Jehu the prophet, that it should befall his race as it did to [h] Jeroboam, which afterward came to pass. He ruled twenty-four years, and died.

To Baasha succeeded Ela his son, who at a feast at his palace of Thersa was in his cups slain by Zambris, after he had reigned two years; and in him the prophecy of Jehu was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded Ela, and assumed the name of a king seven days: but Ambris, in revenge of the king's murder, set upon [i] Zambris, or Zimri, and enclosed him in Thersa, and forced him to burn himself.

Ambris, or Homri, succeeded Ela, and transferred the regal seat from Thersa to Samaria, which he bought of Shemer, built, and fortified it. This [k] Ambris was also an idolater, no less impious than the rest, and therefore subjected to Tabremmon, king of Syria; the father of Benhadad, according to Eusebius, Nicephorus, and Zonaras. But how this should stand, I do not well conceive; seeing Benhadad, the son of Tabremmon, was invited by [l] Asa, king of Judah, to assail Baasha king of Israel, the father of Ela, who forewent Ambris. This Ambris reigned twelve years, six in Thersa and six in Samaria, and left two children, Achab and Athalia.

SECT. III.

Of Achab and his successors, with the captivity of the ten tribes.

ACHAB, or Ahab, succeeded Omri, who not only up-

[h] 1 Kings xv. and xvi. [i] 1 Kings xvi. [k] Ibid. [l] 1 Kings xv.

held the idolatry of Jeroboam, borrowed of the Egyptians, but he married Jezabel the Zidonian; and as Jeroboam followed the religion of his Egyptian wife, so did Achab of his Zidonian, and erected an altar and a grove to Baal in Samaria. He suffered Jezabel to kill the prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the land of Israel. Achab met Elias; Elias prevailed in the trial of the sacrifice, and killeth the false prophets, and afterwards flieth for fear of Jezabel.

Benhadad not long after besieged Samaria, and taken by Achab, was by him set at liberty; for which the prophet (whom Glycas calleth Michæas) reproveth him: afterwards he causeth Naboth, by a false accusation, to be stoned. Then joining with Josaphat in the war for the recovery of Ramoth, he was slain, as Michæas had foretold him.

He had three sons named in the scripture, Ochozias, Joram, and Joas, besides seventy other sons by sundry wives and concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father Achab. The Moabites fell from his obedience; he bruised himself by a fall, and sent for counsel to [m] Beelzebub, the god of Acharon. Elijah the prophet meeteth the messenger on the way, and misliking that Ochozias sought help from that dead idol, asked the messenger, if there were not a God in Israel. Ochozias sendeth two captains, and with each fifty soldiers, to bring Elijah unto him; both which, with their attendants, were consumed with fire. The third captain besought mercy at Elijah's hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the king, avowing it to the king that he must then die; which came to pass in the second year of his reign.

Joram, the brother of Ochozias by Jezabel, succeeded: he allured Josaphat, king of Judah, and the king of Edom, to assist him against the Moabites, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20,000 sheep. The three kings wanted water for themselves and their horses in the deserts. The prophet Elisha causeth the ditches to flow. The [n] Moabites are

[m] Beelzebub was the same with Belus and Pluto, saith Viginere upon Livy. 2 Kings i.

[n] 2 Kings iii.

overthrown; their king flieth to Kirharaseth; and being besieged, according to some expositors, burnt his son on the walls as a sacrifice, whereat the three kings, moved with compassion, returned and left Moab, wasting and spoiling that region. Others, as it seems, with better reason, understand the text to speak of the son of the king of Edom, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner by the Moabites, and that the king of Moab shewed him over the walls, threatening, unless the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his gods. Whereupon the king of Edom besought those of Judah and Israel to break off the siege for the safety of his son; which when the other kings refused to yield unto, and that Moab, according to his former threatening, had burnt the king of Edom's son upon the rampire, that all the assailants might discern it; the king of Edom, being by this sad spectacle enraged, forsook the party of the other kings; for want of whose assistance the siege was broken up.

After this the king of Aram sent to Joram, to heal Naaman, the captain of his army, of the leprosy. The answer of Joram was, Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth send to heal a man from his leprosy? adding, that the Aramite sought but matter of quarrel against him. Elisha hearing thereof, willed the king to send Naaman to him, promising that he should know that there was a prophet in Israel; and so Naaman was healed, by washing himself seven times in Jordan. Elisha refused the gifts of Naaman, but his servant Gehazi accepted a part thereof; from whence the sellers of spiritual gifts are called Gehazites, as the buyers are [o] Simonians, of Simon Magus.

Afterwards Benhadad, king of Aram or Damascus, having heard that this prophet did discover to the king of Israel whatsoever the Aramite consulted in his secretest council, sent a troop of horse to take Elisha: all whom Elisha struck blind, and brought them captives into Samaria. Joram then asking leave of the prophet to slay them,

[o] 2 Kings i. 5.

Elisha forbade him to harm them, but caused them to be fed and sent back to their own prince in safety.

The king of Aram, notwithstanding these benefits, did again attempt Samaria, and brought the citizens to extreme famine. Joram imputeth the cause thereof to the prophet Elisha. Elisha, by prayer, caused a noise of chariots and armour to sound in the air, whereby the Aramites affrighted fled away and left the siege; an act of great admiration, as the same is written in 2 Kings vii. After this, when Azael obtained the kingdom of Syria by the death of his master, Joram, entering upon his frontier, took Ramoth Gilead; in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to Jezrael to be cured. But whilst he lay there, Jehu (who commanding the army of Joram in Gilead, was anointed king by one of the children of the prophets sent by Elisha) surprised and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posterity of Ahab.

Jehu, who reigned after Jehoram, destroyed not only the race of his foregoers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, that his seed should occupy the throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the idolatry of Jeroboam, for which he was plagued with grievous war, wherein he was beaten by Hazael the Aramite, who spoiled all the countries to the east of Jordan; in which war he was slain, saith Cedrenus, whereof the scriptures are silent. Jehu reigned twenty-eight years.

Joachaz, or Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, succeeded his father, whom Azael and his son Benhadad often invaded, and in the end subjected, leaving him only fifty horse, twenty chariots, and 10,000 foot; and, as it is written in [q] the scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. Joachaz reigned seventeen years.

After Joachaz, Joas his son governed Israel; who, when he repaired to Elisha the prophet as he lay in his deathbed, the prophet promised him three victories over the Aramites; and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bow; and Elisha covered the king's hands with his, and

[q] 2 Kings xiii.

bade him open the window westward, (which was towards Damascus,) and then shoot an arrow thence-out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who smote it thrice, and ceased. The prophet then told him, that he should have smitten five or six times, and then he should have had so many victories over the Aramites as he gave strokes. And so it succeeded with Joas, who overthrew the Aramites in three battles, and recovered the cities and territory from Benhadad the son of Azael, which his father Joachaz had lost. He also overthrew [r] Amazia king of Juda, who provoked him to make the war; whereupon he entered Jerusalem, and sacked it with the temple. This Joas reigned sixteen years, and died; in whose time also the prophet Elisha exchanged this life for a better.

Jeroboam, the third from Jehu, followed Joas his father, an idolater, as his predecessors; but he recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to Israel, from Hamath, which is near Libanus, to the Dead sea, and reigned forty-one years.

Zacharias, the fourth and last of the house of Jehu, slain by Shallum his vassal, who reigned in his stead, governed six months. Shallum held the kingdom but one month, being slaughtered by Menahem of the Gadites.

Menahem, who took revenge of Shallum, used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him, ripping the bellies of those that were with child. This Menahem being invaded by Phul, [s] bought his peace with 10,000 talents of silver, which he exacted by a tribute of fifty sheckles from every man of wealth in Israel. Menahem governed twenty years.

Pekahiah, or Phaceia, or, after Zonaras, Phacesia, succeeded; and after he had ruled two years, he was slain by Phaca, or Pekah, the commander of his army, who reigned in his place. In this Pekah's time, Phulassar, or Tiglat-Phylassar, invaded the kingdom of Israel, and won Ijon, Abel-Bethmaaca, Janoach, Kedesh, Hasor, and Gilead, with all the cities of Galilee, [t] carrying them captives into Assy-

[r] 2 Kings xiv. [s] 2 Kings xvi. 19. [t] 2 Kings xv. 29.

ria: he was drawn in by Achas, king of Judæa, against Pekah, and Rezin the last of the Adades. For Achas, being wasted by Pekah of Israel and by Rezin of Damascus, did a third time borrow the church riches, and therewith engaged the Assyrian who first suppressed the monarchy of Syria and Damascus, and then of Israel; and this inviting of the great Assyrian was the utter ruin of both states, of Israel and of Judæa. Pekah reigned twenty years.

Then Hoshea, or Osea, who slew Pekah, became the vassal of Salmanassar; but hoping to shake off the Assyrian yoke, he sought aid from So, or Sua, or Sebicus, king of Egypt; which being known to the Assyrian, he cast him into prison, besieged Samaria, and mastered it; carried the ten idolatrous tribes into Nineveh in Assyria, and into Rages in Media, and into other eastern regions, and there dispersed them; and replanted Samaria with divers nations, and chiefly with the Cuthæ, (inhabiting about Cutha, a river in Persia, or rather in [u]Arabia Deserta,) and with the people Catanei bounding upon Syria, and with those of Sepharvajim; (a people of Sephar in Mesopotamia upon Euphrates, of whose conquest Sennacherib vaunteth;) also with those of Ava, which were of the ancient Avins, who inhabited the land of the Philistines in Abraham's time, dwelling near unto Gaza, whom the Caphtorims rooted out; and at this time they were of Arabia the Desert, called Havæi, willing to return to their ancient seats. To these he added those of Chamath, or Ituræa, the ancient enemies of the Israelites, and sometime the vassals of the Adads of Damascus, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this Assyrian advise himself better than the Romans did; for after Titus and Vespasian had wasted the cities of Judæa and Jerusalem, they carried the people away captive; but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their own thin garrisons, which soon decayed: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the Arabians and Saracens, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

[u] Ptol. l. 5. Isa. xxxvii.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the year of the world 3292, the 6th year of Ezekiah, king of Judah; and the 9th of Hosea the last king of Israel.

A catalogue of the kings of the ten tribes.

	Reigned.		Reigned.
1. Jeroboam	22 years.	12. Joas	16 years.
2. Nadab	2 years.	13. Jeroboam	41 years.
3. Baasha	24 years.	14. Zacharias	6 months.
4. Ela	20 years.	15. Shallum	1 month.
5. Zambris	7 days.	16. Menahem	10 years.
6. Omri	11 years.	17. Pekahiah	2 years.
7. Achab	22 years.	18. Phaca	20 years.
8. Ochozias	2 years.	19. Hosea	9 years,
9. Joram	12 years.	about whose time writers	
10. Jehu	28 years.	differ.	
11. Joachaz	17 years.		

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Judah, Reuben, Gad, and the other half of Manasseh.

SECT. I.

Of Dan, whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other towns.

NOW following the coast of the Mediterranean sea, that portion of land assigned to the tribe of Dan joineth to Ephraim, whereof I spake last; of which family there were numbered at mount Sinai 62,700 fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their sons 66,400 bearing arms. The first famous city in this tribe on the sea-coast was Joppe, or Japho, as in Joshua xix. 46. one of the most ancient of the world, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the port of Jerusalem. From hence Jonas embarked himself, when he fled from the service of God towards Thar-

sis in Cilicia. In the time of the Maccabees this city received many changes: and while Judas Maccabæus governed the Jews, the Syrians that were garrisoned in Joppe, having their fleet in the port, invited 200 principal citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the sea; which [x] Judas revenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape to the sword.

It was twice taken by the Romans, and by Cestius the lieutenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Christ 1250, Lodowick the French king gave it new walls and towers: it is now the Turk's, and called Jaffa. There are certain rocks in that port, whereunto it is reported that Andromeda was fastened with chains, and from thence delivered from the sea-monster by Perseus. This fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by [y] Josephus, Solinus, and Pliny. Marcus Scaurus, during his office of ædileship, shewed the bones of this monster to the people of Rome. St. Jerome upon Jonas speaks of it indifferently.

The next unto Joppe was Jamnia, where [z] Judas Maccabæus burnt the rest of the Syrian fleet; the fire and flame whereof was seen at Jerusalem, 240 furlongs off. It had sometime a bishop's seat, saith [a] Will. of Tyre; but there is no sign of it at this time that such a place there was.

After Jamnia is the city of Geth, or Gath, sometime Anthedon, saith Volaterran. And so Montanus, fol. 244. seems to understand it. For he sets it next to Egypt, of all the Philistine cities, and in the place of Anthedon. But Volaterran gives neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for Ptolomy sets Anthedon far to the south of Joppe; and Geth was the first and not the last (beginning from the north) of all the great cities of the Philistines; and about sixteen miles from Joppe, where St. Jerome in his time found a great village of the same name. It was sometime the habitation and seminary of the [b] Anakims; strong and

[x] 2 Macc. ii. 12.
[y] Lib. 3. 1. 15. de Bell. Jud. Solin. c. 47. Plin. l. 5. c. 9.
[z] 2 Macc. xii.
[a] De Bell. sacr.
[b] Hieron. in Michæam.

giant-like men, whom Joshua could not expel, nor the Danites after him; nor any of the Israelites, till David's time; who slew Goliath, as his captains did divers others, not much inferior in strength and stature unto Goliath.

Roboam the son of Solomon rebuilt Geth; Ozias the son of Amazia destroyed it again. It was also laid waste by Azael king of Syria. Fulke, the fourth king of Jerusalem, built a castle in the same place out of the old ruins. Whether this Geth was the same that [c]Will. of Tyre in the holy war calls Ibijljn, I much doubt; the error growing by taking Geth for Anthedon.

Not far from Geth, or Gath, standeth Bethsemes, or the house of the Sun. In the fields adjoining to this city (as is thought) was the ark of God brought by a yoke of two kine, turned loose by the [d]Philistines; and the Bethsemites presuming to look therein, there were slain of the elders seventy, and of the people 50,000, by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter, and the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great [e]Abel, saith St. Jerome. Benedictus Theologus finds three other cities of this name; one in [f]Nephtalim, another in Juda, and another in Issachar; Jerome finds a fifth in Benjamin.

Keeping the sea-coast, the strong city of Accaron offereth itself, sometime one of the five satrapies or governments of the Philistines. St. Jerome makes it the same with Cæsarea Palæstinæ. Pliny confounds it with Apollonia: it was one of those that defended itself against the Danites and Judeans. It worshipped Beelzebub the god of hornets or flies. To which idol it was that [g]Ahaziah king of Israel sent to inquire of his health: whose messengers Elijah meeting by the way, caused them to return with a sorrowful

[c] Lib. 21. c. 18.

[d] 1 Sam. vi. 8.

[e] Or rather not the city itself, but the great stone in the field, upon which stone the Philistines set the ark; the change being easy from Eben, or Aben, which signifieth *a stone*, to Abel, which signifieth *mourning*.

[f] See in Naph. c. 7. sect. 4. §. 6.

[g] 2 Kings i. It was besieged by Psammetichus the father of Pharaoh Neco for twenty-nine years together; whence Jer. xxv. 20. speaks of the residue of Ashdod, to wit, the greatest part having perished in this siege.

answer to their master. This city is remembered in many places of scripture.

Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus next to Geth, and then Accaron, or Ekron. This Azotus, or Asdod, was also an habitation of the Anakims, whom Joshua failed to destroy, though he once possessed their city. Herein stood a sumptuous temple, dedicated to the [h] idol Dagon: the same idol which fell twice to the ground of itself, after the ark of God was by the Philistines carried into their temple; and in the second fall it was utterly broken and defaced. Near it was that famous [i] Judas Maccabæus slain by Bacchides and Alcimus, the lieutenants of Demetrius. Afterwards it was taken by Jonathan: and the rest of the citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the temple of Dagon were, with their idol, therein consumed with fire; near which also he overthrew Apollonius.

Gabinius the Roman rebuilt it. It had a bishop's seat while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in St. Jerome's time it was yet a fair village. And this was the last of the sea-towns within the tribe of Dan.

The cities which are within the land eastward from Azotus, and beyond the fountain of Ethiopia, wherein Philip the apostle baptized the eunuch, are Tsorah, or Sarara, and Esthaol, and between them Castra Danis near Hebron: though this place, where Samson was born, may seem by the words, Judg. xviii. 12. to be in the tribe of Judah, as the other also were bordering towns between Dan and Juda.

After these, within the bounds of Juda, but belonging to the Danites, they find Gedor; or, as it is 1 Macc. xv. Cedron, which Cendebæus, the lieutenant of Antiochus, fortified against the Jews, and near which himself was by the [k] Maccabees overthrown.

Then Modin, the native city of the Maccabees; and wherein they were buried, on whose sepulchre the seven marble pillars, which were erected of that height as they served for a mark to the seamen, remained many hun-

[h] 1 Sam. v. 4.
[i] 1 Macc. ix. x. Jos. xix. 41. Judg. xiii. 25. &c. xviii. 2.
[k] 1 Macc. xv. 16.

dreds of years after their first setting up, as Brochard and Breidenbach witness.

There are besides these the city of [l] Cariathiarim, that is, the city of the woods; seated in the border of Juda, Benjamin, and Dan, wherein the ark of God remained twenty years in the house of Aminadab; till such time as David carried it thence to Jerusalem: of this place (as they say) was Zacharias the son of Barachias, or Jehoida, who was slain between the temple and the altar: also Urias, whom Joachim king of Jerusalem slaughtered, as we find in Jeremy. Many other places which they place in this tribe, rather as I take it upon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of Caspin, taken with great slaughter by [m] Judas Maccabæus: and Lachis, whose king was slain by Joshua, in which also Amazias was slain; the same which Sennacherib took, Ezechias reigning in Juda.

Of other cities belonging to this tribe, see in Joshua xix. from the 41st verse, where also it is added, that the Danites' portion was too little for their number of families; and therefore that they invaded Leshem, and inhabited it: which city, after amplified by Philip the brother of Herod Antipas, was called Cæsarea Philippi, as before, and made the metropolis of Ituræa and Trachonitis; of which coasts this Philip was tetrarch: but of this city see more in Nephtalim. In this tribe there are no mountains of fame.

It hath two rivers or torrents: the northernmost riseth out of the mountains of Juda; and passing by Modin, falleth into the sea by Sachrona. [n] The other hath the name of Sorek, or Sored, whose banks are plentiful of vines, which have no seeds or stones; the wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, taste, and savour, &c. In this valley of Sorek, so called from the river, inhabited Delilah, whom Samson loved.

SECT. II.

The tribe of Simeon.

THE tribe of Simeon takes up the rest of the sea-coast of

[l] Alias Cariath-baal and Baal, or Baalpharosim. 1 Sam. vii. 1. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 2 Chron. xxiv. 22. Matt. xxiii. 33. Jer. xxvi. 20.

[m] 2 Macc. xii. 13. Jos. xii. 11. 2 Kings xiv. 19.

[n] Hieron. in Isai. et Micheam 1. Broch. Breid. Judg. xvi. 4.

Canaan to the border of Egypt; who being the second son of Jacob by Leah, there were increased of that family, while they abode in Egypt, as they were numbered at mount Sinai, 59,300 able men; all which ending their lives in the deserts, there entered the land of promise of their issues 22,200 bearing arms, who were[o] in part mixed with Juda, and in part severed, inhabiting a small territory on the sea-coast, belonging to Edumæa; of which the first city adjoining to Dan was Ascalon.

The *reguli*, or petty kings thereof, were called Ascalonitæ; of which [p] Volaterran out of Xanthus, in the history of the Lydians, reports, that Tantalus and Ascalus were the sons of Hymenæus: and that Ascalus being employed by Aciamus, king of the Lydians, with an army in Syria, falling in love with a young woman of that country, built this city, and called it after his own name: the same hath Nicolaus in his history, saith Volaterran.

Diodorus Siculus, in his third book, remembereth a lake near Ascalon, wherein there hath been a temple dedicated to Derceto the goddess of the Syrians, having the face of a woman and the body of a fish; who, as I have said before, in the story of Ninus, was the mother of Semiramis, feigned to be cast into this lake, and fed and relieved by doves. And therefore was the dove worshipped both in Babylonia and Syria, of which Tibullus the poet:

Alba Palæstino sancta columba Syro.
The white dove is for holy held in Syria-Palestine.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest cities of the Philistines. It bred many learned men, ([q] saith Volaterran,) as Antiochus, Sosus, Cygnus, Dorotheus the historian, and Artemidorus, who wrote the story of Bithynia.

In Ascalon, as some say, was that wicked Herod born, that, seeking after our Saviour, caused all the male children, of two years old and under, to be slain. In the Christian times it had a bishop, and after that, when it was by the

[o] And therefore no marvel that divers places named Jos. xv. in the large portion of Juda be reckoned in this tribe: see Jos. xix. 1, 9. where thus much is expressly noted.

[p] Volat. Geog. l. 11. fol. 244.

[q] Volat. ut supra.

Saladine defaced, Richard, king of England, while he made war in the Holy Land, gave it a new wall, and many buildings: [r] *Ejus muros cum Saladinus diruisset, Richardus Anglorum rex instauravit*, saith Adrichomius.

In David's time it was one of the most renowned cities of the Philistines; for he nameth Gath and Ascalon only, when he lamenteth the death of Saul and Jonathan, not speaking of the other three; [s] *Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ascalon:* it is now called Scalone. Gabinius restored it, as he did Azotus and Gaza.

Next to Ascalon stood Gaza, or Gazera, which the Hebrews call Hazza; the Syrians Azon, of Azonus, as they say, the son of Hercules. Other profane writers affirm that it was built by Jupiter. Pomponius Mela gives the building thereof to Cambyses the Persian, because belike he rebuilt it; and *Gaza*, in the Persian tongue, is as much to say as *treasure*. This [t] Gaza was the first of the five satrapies of the Philistines, and the south bound of the land of Canaan towards Egypt. But this city was far more ancient than Cambyses, as it is proved by many scriptures. It was once taken by Caleb, but the strength of the Anakims put him from it. At such time as [u] Alexander Macedon invaded the empire of Persia, it received a garrison for Darius: in despite whereof, it was by the Macedonians, after a long siege, demolished; and was called Gaza of the Desert.

[x] Alexander Janneus, king of the Jews, surprised it, and slew 500 senators in the temple of Apollo, which fled thither for sanctuary; but this Gaza was not set up in the same place again, to wit, on the foundations which Alexander Macedon had overturned, but somewhat nearer the sea-side; though the other was but two miles off. It was a town of great account in the time of the Maccabees, and gave many wounds to the Jews, till it was forced by Simon: of which he made so great account, as he purposed to reside therein himself; and in his absence left John his son and

[r] Adrich. in Trib. Simeon.
[s] 2 Sam. i. 20. Volat. l. 11.
[t] Steph. de Urb. Judg. i. 6, 16. 1 Kings vi. et alib.
[x] Joseph. 13. Ant. 19.

successor to be governor. In [y] Brochard's time it was still a goodly city, and known by the name of Gazara.

At the very outlet of the river of Bezor standeth Majoma, the port of Gaza; to which the privilege of a city was given by the great Constantine, and the place called Constance after the name of the emperor's son. [z] But Julian the apostate, soon after favouring the Gazeans, made it subject unto them, and commanded it to be called Gaza Maritima.

On the other side of [a] Besor standeth Anthedon, defaced by Alexander Janneus, restored by Herod, and called Agrippias, after the name of Agrippa, the favourite of Augustus.

Then [b] Raphia, where Philopater overthrew the great Antiochus; and beyond it Rhinocura, whose torrent is known in the scriptures by the name [c] of *the torrent of Egypt*, till the Septuagint converted it by Rinocura, to difference it, Isaiah xxvii. 12. giving the name of the city to the torrent that watereth it.

Pliny calls it Rhinocolura, and Josephus Rhinocorura.

[d] Epiphanius reports it as a tradition, that at this place the world was divided by lots between the three sons of Noah.

Within the land, and upon the river of Besor, they place Gerar; which the scripture placeth between Kadesh and Shur, Gen. xx. 1. That it was near to the wilderness of Beersheba, it appears, Gen. xxi. 31. and therefore no marvel that as elsewhere Beersheba, so sometimes Gerar, be made the south bound of Canaan. It was of old a distinct kingdom from the Philistine satrapies, the kings by one common name were called Abimelechs; St. Jerome saith, that afterwards it was called *Regio salutaris;* "the healthy "county:" so that it was no marvel that Abraham and

[y] 1 Macc. i. 15. Broch. Itin. 7.
[z] Hist. trip. l. 6. c. 4. Niceph. 10. Hist. c. 4.
[a] Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. 21.
[b] Joseph. 13. Ant. 19. 21. 24. &c.
[c] Junius calls it *Vallis Ægypti*, the name of the stream seems to be Shichor. See in Asser, c. 7. sect. 3. §. 8. in the margin.
[d] Epiph. tom. 2. in refut. Manich. et in Ancorato. Gen. x. 19.

Isaac lived much in these parts. Of king Asa's conquest of the cities about Gerar, see 2 Chron. xiv. 14.

More within the land was [e] Siceleg, or Tsiglak, which was burnt by the Amalekites, when David, in his flying from Saul to the Philistines, had left his carriages there; but David followed them over the river of Besor, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

Next [f] Dabir, sometime Cariath-Sepher, the city of letters, the university, as they say, or academy of old Palestine. In St. Jerome's time it seems it had the name of Daema; Joshua xv. 49. it is called Urbs Sannæ, from the name, as it seems, of some of the Anakims, as Hebron was called Urbs Arbahi. For even hence also were these giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by [g] Othoniel, encouraged by Caleb's promise of his daughter in marriage; but that Joshua and the host of Israel were at the surprise, it appears Joshua x. 39. This city, Josh. xxi. 15. is named among those which, out of Simeon and Juda, were given to the Levites. And hence it seems they attribute it to this tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the tribe of Simeon, but of less fame; as Haijn, of which Joshua xix. 7. which also Joshua xxi. 16. is reckoned for one of the cities of the Levites, given out of the portion of Juda and Simeon, (for which Junius thinks Hasham is named, 1 Chron. vi. 59. though [h] in the place of Joshua these two are distinguished,) also Tholad so named, 1 Chron. iv. 29. for which Josh. xix. 4. we have Eltholad. Chatzar-Susa, so named, Josh. xix. 5. for which Josh. xv. we have Chatzar-Gadda, both names agreeing in signification; for Gadda is Turma, and Susa, Equitatus.

In the same places of Joshua and of the Chronicles Chorma is named; which they think to be the same with that of which Numb. xiv. 45. to which the Amalekites and Canaanites pursued the Israelites. But that Chorma cannot be in Simeon, nor within the mountains of Edumæa.

[e] 1 Sam. xxx.
[f] Joseph. 10, 11, 12.
[g] Josh. xi. 21.
[h] And also 1 Chron. iv. 32.

For Israel fled not that way, but back again to the camp, which lay to the south of [i] Edumæa, in the desert.

The same places also name Beersheba in this tribe; so called of the oath between [k] Abraham and Abimelech; near unto which Hagar wandered with her son Ishmael.

It was also called the city of Isaac, because he dwelt long there.

While the Christians held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the Arabian desert, and in the south bound of Canaan. It hath now the name of Gibelin.

The other cities of Simeon, which are named in the places of Joshua and of the Chronicles above noted, because they help us nothing in story, I omit them.

In the time of Ezekiah king of Juda, certain of this tribe being straitened in their own territories, passed to [l] Gedor, as it is 1 Chron. iv. 39. (the same place which Josh. xv. 36. is called Gedera and Gederothaima,) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of Cham, where they seated themselves; as also 500 others of this tribe destroyed the relics of Amalek in the mountains of Edom, and dwelt in their places.

The mountains within this tribe are few, and that of Samson the chiefest; unto which he carried the gate-post of Gaza. The rivers are Besor and the torrent of Egypt called Shichar, as is noted in Asser.

SECT. III.

The tribe of Juda.

OF Juda, the fourth son of Jacob by Leah, there were multiplied in Egypt 74,600; all which (Caleb excepted) perished in the deserts. And of their sons, their entered the land of Canaan 76,500 bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatness of this number was the greatest territory given, called afterwards Judæa; within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to Dan and Simeon included.

[i] Deut. i.
[k] Gen. xxi. 31.
[l] As it seems in the land of Juda. See in the first paragraph of this chapter, in the cities of Dan. Judg. xvi. 3.

And many cities named in these tribes did first, as they say, belong unto the children of Juda, who had a kind of sovereignty over them; as Succoth, Cariathiarim, Lachis, Bethsemes, Tsiglag, Beersheba, and others.

The multitude of people within this small province (if it be meted by that ground given to this tribe only) were uncredible, if the witness of the scriptures had not warranted the report. For when David numbered the people, they were found 500,000 fighting men.

The cities of Juda were many: but I will remember the chiefest of them, beginning with Arad, or Horma, which standeth in the entrance of Judæa from Idumæa; whose king first surprised the Israelites, as they passed by the border of [m] Canaan towards Moab, and took from them some spoils and many prisoners; who being afterwards overthrown by the Israelites, the sons of Keni, the kinsmen of Moses, obtained a possession in that territory; who before the coming of the Israelites dwelt between Madian and Amalek.

Following this frontier towards Idumæa and the south, [n] Ascensus Scorpionis or Acrabbim is placed, the next to Arad; so called because of scorpions, which are said to be in that place: from which name of Acrabbim, Jerome thinks that the name of the toparchy, called Acrabathena, was denominated; of which we have spoken in Manasses.

On the south side also of Judæa they place the cities of Jagur, Dimona, Adada, Cedes, Ashna, Jethnam, and Asor, or Chatsor, most of them frontier towns.

And then Ziph, of which there are two places so called; one besides this in the body of Juda, of which the desert and forest adjoining took name, where David hid himself from Saul.

After these are the cities of Esron, Adar, Karkah, and Asemona, or Hatsmon, of no great fame.

Turning now from Idumæa towards the north we find the cities of Danna, Shemah, Amam, the other Asor, or Chatsor, Behaloth, and the two Sochoes; of all which, see

[m] Numb. xxi. 3. Josh. xii. 14. Judg. i. 16.

[n] Numb. xxxiv. 3. Deut. viii. 15.

Josh. xv. also Carioth, by Josh. xv. 25. called Kerioth: whence Judas the traitor was called Is-carioth, as it were a man of Carioth. Then [o] Hetham the abode of Samson, which Rehoboam reedified. Beyond these, towards the north border, and towards Eleutheropolis, is the city of [p] Jethar, or Jatthir, belonging to the Levites. In [q] St. Jerome's time it was called Jethira, and inhabited altogether with Christians: near unto this city was that remarkable battle fought between Asa king of Juda and Zara king of the Arabians, who brought into the field a million of fighting men, and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight; Asa following the victory as far as Gerar, which at the same time he recovered.

Not far from Jether standeth Jarmuth, whose king was slain by Joshua, and the city overturned. Next unto it is Maresa, the native city of the prophet Michæa: between it and Odolla, [r] Judas Maccabæus overthrew Gorgias, and sent thence 10,000 drachmas of silver to be offered for sacrifice.

[s] Odolla, or Hadullam, itself was an ancient and magnificent city, taken by Joshua, and the king thereof slain. Jonathan Maccabæus beautified it greatly. Then [t] Ceila, or Keila, afterwards Echela, where David sometime hid himself, and which afterwards he delivered from the assaults of the Philistines: near which the prophet Abacuc was buried; whose monument remained, and was seen by St. Jerome.

Near it is Hebron, sometime called the *city of Arbah*, for which the Vulgar hath *Cariatharbe:* the reason of this name they give, as if it signified the city of four, because the four patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were therein buried; but of Adam it is but supposed; and it is plain by the places, Josh. xiv. 14. and xv. 13. and xx. 11. that Arbah here doth not signify four, but that it was the

[o] Judg. xv. 8. 1 Chron. xi. 6. Jun. out of the 1 Chron. iv. 32. notes, that this Hetham, though it were within the bounds of Juda, belonged to Simeon.

[p] Josh. xv. 48.

[q] Hieron. in Loc. Hebr.

[r] 2 Macc. xii. 35.

[s] Gen. xxxviii. 1. Josh. xii. 15.

[t] 1 Sam. xxiii. 1.

name of the father of the giants, called Anakim, whose son, as it seems, Anak was: and Achiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, (whom Caleb expelled, Josh. xv.) were the sons of this Anak, Numb. xiii. 23. The name of Anak signifieth *torquem*, a chain worn for ornament: and it seems that this Anak, enriched by the spoils which himself and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and so got this name: and leaving the custom to his posterity, left also the name: so that in Latin the name of Anakim may not amiss be expounded by Torquati.

The city Hebron was one of the ancientest cities of Canaan, built seven years before Tsoan, or Tanis, in Egypt; and it was the head and chief city of the Anakims, whom Caleb expelled; to whom it was in part given, to wit, the villages adjoining, and the rest to the Levites. It had a bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent temple built by Helen, the mother of Constantine.

Not far hence they find Eleutheropolis, or the free city, remembered often by St. Jerome. Then Eglon, whose king Dabir associated with the other four kings of the Amorites, to wit, of [u] Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, and Lachis, besieging the Gibeonites, were by Joshua utterly overthrown. From hence the next city of fame was Emaus, afterwards Nicopolis, one of the cities of government, or presidencies of Judæa. In sight of this city, [x] Judas Maccabæus (after he had formerly beaten both Apollonius and Seron) gave a third overthrow to Gorgias, lieutenant to Antiochus.

In the year 1301 it was overturned by an earthquake, saith [y] Eusebius. In the Christian times it had a bishop's seat, of the diocese of Cæsarea of Palestine.

From Emaus towards the west sea there are the cities of Nahama, Bethdagon, and Gader, or Gedera, or Gederothaima, of which, and of Gederoth, [z] Josh. xv. 36, 41. Then Azecha, to which Joshua followed the slaughter of the five

[u] Josh. x. 11.
[x] 1 Mace. iii.
[y] Euseb. in Chron. Broch. Itin. 6.
[z] Also 1 Chron. iv. 39. as is above remembered in the tribe of Simeon.

kings before named, a city of great strength in the valley of [a] Terebinth, or Turpentine; as the Vulgar readeth, 1 Sam. xvii. 2. whence, as it seems, they seat it near unto Soco, and unto Lebna of the Levites. It revolted from the subjection of the Jews, while Joram the son of Josaphat ruled in Jerusalem; and next unto this standeth Maceda, which Joshua utterly dispeopled.

On the other side of Emaus, towards the east, standeth Bethsur, otherwise Bethsora, and Bethsor; one of the strongest and most sought for places in all Juda: it is seated on a high hill, and therefore called *Bethsur*, (*the house on the rock*, or *of strength*). It was fortified by Roboam, and afterwards by [b] Judas Maccabæus. Lysias forced it, and Antiochus Eupator by famine; Jonathan regained it, and it was by Simon exceedingly fortified against the Syrian kings.

[c] Bethlehem is the next unto it within six miles of Jerusalem, otherwise Lehem, sometime Ephrata; which name, they say, it had of Caleb's wife, when as it is so called by Moses before Caleb was famous in those parts, Gen. xxxviii. 16. Of this city was Abessan, or Ibzan, judge of Israel after Jephthah, famous for the thirty sons and thirty daughters begotten by him. Elimelec was also a Bethlemite, who with his wife Naomi sojourned in Moab during the famine of Juda, in the time of the judges, with whom [d] Ruth, the daughter-in-law of Naomi returned to Bethlehem, and married Boaz, of whom Obed, of whom Ishai, of whom David. It had also the honour to be the native city of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and therefore shall the memory thereof never end.

[e] In Zabulon of Galilee there was also a city of the same name; and therefore was this of our Saviour called Bethlehem Juda.

From Bethlehem, some four or five miles, standeth The-

[a] Junius for *in valle Terebinthi*, hath *in valle Quercèti*. Vatablus keeps the Hebrew reading *in valle Etah*.

[b] Joseph. 13. Ant. 9. 1 Macc. vi.

[c] Gen. liii. 48.

[d] Ruth i.

[e] Hieron. in Comm. super Matth. c. 2. Matt. ii. 1.

cua, the city of [f] Amos the prophet; and to this place adjoining is the city of Bethzacaria, in the way between Bethsura and Jerusalem, on whose hills adjoining the glorious gilt shields of Antiochus shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the Jews. The city of [g] Bezek was also near unto Bethlehem, which Adoni-bezek commanded; who had, during his reign, tortured seventy kings, by cutting off the joints of their fingers and toes, and made them gather bread under his table; but at length the same end befell himself by the sons of [h] Juda, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may pass by, until we come to the magnificent castle of Herodium, which Herod erected on a hill, mounting thereunto with 200 marble steps, exceeding beautiful and strong. [i] And towards the Dead sea, and adjoining to the desert of Jeruel, between it and Tekoa, is that *Clivus floridus*, where in the time of [k] Jehosaphat the Jews stood and looked on the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, massacring one another, when they had purposed to join against Juda; near which place is the valley of blessing, where the Jews, the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange deliverance.

Now the cities of [l] Juda which border the Dead sea are these; Aduran, beautified by Roboam, and Tsohar, which the Vulgar calleth [m] Segor; so called, because Lot in his prayer for it urged that it was but a little one; whence it was called Tsohar, which signifieth a little one; when as the old name was Belah, as it is Gen. xiv. 2. In the Romans' times it had a garrison, and was called, as they say, Pannier; in Jerome's time Balezona. The Engaddi, or Hen-gaddi, first Asasenthamar; near unto which are the gardens of Balsamum, the best that the world had, called Opobalsamum; the most part of all which trees, Cleopatra,

[f] Amos i. 1. 1 Macc. vi. 32. Joseph. Ant. 12. 14. 1 Macc. vi. 36.
[g] See in Manass. c. 7. sect. 7. §. 1.
[h] Judg. i. 6, 7.
[i] Joseph. 14. Ant. 22.
[k] 2 Chron. xx. 16, 26.
[l] 2 Chron. xi.
[m] Some call it Balsalisa and Vitula consternans. See in Gad. 10. §. 5. post principium in Haroher. Gen. xix. 20. Hieron. in Ose. Heb. Chatsatson-thamar. 2 Chron. xx. 2.

queen of Egypt, sent for out of Judæa; and Herod, who either feared or loved Anthony her husband, caused them to be rooted up, and presented unto her; which she replanted near Heliopolis in Egypt. This city was first taken by [n] Chedorlaomer, and the Amorites thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable cities of Judæa, and one of the presidencies thereof.

The rest of the cities are many in the inland, and among them [o] Jesrael; not that which was the city of Naboth, of which already; but another of the same name, the city of Achinoan, the wife of David, the mother of that Ammon whom Absalom slew: also, as some think, the city of [p] Amasa, Absalom's lieutenant, and the commander of his army. But this seemeth to be an error, grounded upon the nearness of the words Israel and Jesrael; and because 2 Sam. xvii. 25. Amasa's father is called a Jisraelite, who 1 Chron. ii. 17. is called an Ismaelite: indeed the Hebrew orthography sheweth, that Amasa's father is not said to be of the city Jesrael, but an Israelite in religion, though otherwise an Ismaelite.

In this tribe there were many high hills or mountains, as those of Engaddi upon the Dead sea, and the mountains of Juda, which begin to rise by Emaus, and end near Taphna; and these part Juda from Dan and Simeon. Of others which stand single, there is that of Hebron; at the foot whereof was that oak of Mamre, where the three angels appeared to Abraham, which [q] St. Jerome calleth a fir-tree; and saith, that it stood till the time of Constantine the younger. There is also that mountain, called Collis Achillæ, on the south side of Ziph; on the top whereof the great Herod, enclosing the old castle, erected by Jonathan Maccabæus, and called Massada, garnished it with seven and twenty high and strong towers; and therein left armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men, being, as it seemeth, a place unaccessible, and of incomparable strength.

[n] Gen. xiv. 7.
[o] 1 Reg. xxi.
[p] 2 Sam. xvii. 25.
[q] Hieron. in Loc. Heb. et Quæst. Heb. Joseph. 14. Ant. c. 20.

In the valley afterward called the Dead sea, or the lake Asphaltitis, this country had four cities, Adama, Sodom, Seboim, and Gomorrah, destroyed with fire from heaven for their unnatural sins.

SECT. IV.

The tribe of Reuben, and his borderers.

§. 1.

The seats and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites won from Sehon, king of Hesbon.

ON the other side of the Dead sea, Reuben the eldest of Jacob's sons inhabited, of whose children there were numbered at mount Sinai 46,000, who dying with the rest in the deserts, there remained to possess the land promised 43,700 bearing arms. But before we speak of these, or the rest that inhabited the east side of Jordan, something of their borderers; to wit, Midian, Moab, and Ammon, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first, we are to remember, that out of Abraham's kindred came many mighty families; as, by Isaac and Jacob, the nation called Israel, and afterwards Jews; by Esau, or Edom, the Idumeans; by Ishmael, the eldest son of Abraham, the Ishmaelites; and by Keturah, his last wife, the Midianites. And again, by Lot, Abraham's brother's son, those two valiant nations of the Moabites and Ammonites: all which being but strangers in the land of Canaan, (formerly possessed by the Canaanites, and by the families of them descended,) these issues and alliances of Abraham, all but Jacob, whose children were bred in Egypt, inhabited the frontier places adjoining.

Esau and his sons held Idumæa, which bounded Canaan on the south. Ishmael took from the south-east part of the Dead sea; stretching his possession over all Arabia Petræa, and a part of Arabia the Desert, as far as the river of Tigris, from Sur to Havilah.

Moab took the rest of the coast of the Dead sea, leaving a part to Midian; and passing over Arnon, inhabited the

plains between Jordan and the hills of Abarim, or Arnon, as far north as Essebon, or Chesbon.

Ammon sat down on the north-east side of Arnon, and possessed the tract from Rabba, afterwards Philadelphia, both within the mountains of [r] Gilead, and without them as far forth as Aroer, though in Moses's time he had nothing left him in all that valley; for the Amorites had thrust him over the river of [s] Jaboc, as they had done Moab over Arnon. As these nations encompassed sundry parts of Canaan, so the border between the river of Jaboc and Damascus was held by the Amorites themselves, with other mixed nations; all which territory on the east side of Jordan, and on the east side of the Dead sea, was granted by Moses to the tribes of [t] Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh; whereof that part which Moab had was first possessed by the Emims, a nation of giants, weakened and broken by Chedorlaomer, after expulsed by the Moabites, as before remembered. That which the Ammonites held was the territory and ancient possession of the Zamzummins, or Zuræi, who were also beaten at the same time by Chedorlaomer, Amraphel, and the rest; and by them an easy way of conquest was prepared for the Ammonites.

Now where it is written, that Arnon was the border of Moab, the same is to be understood according to the time when Moses wrote. For then had Sehon, or his ancestor, beaten the Moabites out of the plain countries between Abarim and Jordan, and driven them thence from Hesbon over Arnon; and this happened not long before Moses's arrival upon that border, when Vaheb governed the Moabites. For he that ruled Moab, when Moses passed Arnon, was not the son of Vaheb; but his name was Balac, the son of Zippor. And it may be, that those kings were elective, as the Edumeans anciently were.

Now all that part of Moab between Arnon and Jordan, as far north as Essebon, was inhabited by Reuben. And when Israel arrived there out of Egypt it was in the possession of Sehon, of the race of Canaan, by Amo-

[r] Josh. xiii. [s] Numb. xxi. 24. [t] Deut. iii.

reus; and therefore did Jephthah, the judge of Israel, justly defend the regaining of those countries against the claim of the Ammonites; because (as he alleged) Moses found them in the possession of the Amorites, and not in the hands of Moab, or Ammon, who, saith [u] Jephthah, had three hundred years time to recover them, and did not: whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

And lest any should marvel why the Ammonites in Jephthah's time should make claim to these countries; whereas Moses in the place, Numb. xxi. 26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the Moabites than of the Ammonites; it is to be noted, that Deut. iii. 11. when it is said, that the iron bed of Og was to be seen at Rabbath, the chief city of the Ammonites; it is also signified, that much of the land of Og, which the Israelites possessed, was by him, or his ancestors, got from the Ammonites, as much as Sehon's was from the Moabites.

And as the Canaanite nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them; so also were the sons of [x] Moab and Ammon, Midian, Amalek, and Ismael. Yet the reason seemeth plain enough why Ammon commanded in chief in Jephthah's time; for sometimes the one nation, sometimes the other of all those borderers acquired the sovereignty: and again, that one part of the land which Gad held, namely within the mountains of Galaad, or Gilead, and as far south as Aroer, belonged to the Ammonites. And therefore, taking advantage of the time, they then sought to recover it again. Yet at such time as Moses overthrew Sehon at Jahaz, the Ammonites had lost to the Amorites all that part of their possession which lay about Aroer, and between it and Jaboc; Sehon and Og, two kings of the Amorites, having displanted both Moab and Ammon of all within the mountains. For it is

[u] Judges xi.

[x] Josh. xiii. 25. Junius notes, that the one half of the land of Hammon, which in this place of Joshua is said to have been given to the Gadites, was taken first from the Ammonites by Sehon; but the place Deut. iii. 11. proveth, that as well Og as Sehon had gotten lands out of the hands of the Ammonites.

written, Numb. xxi. 24. that Israel conquered the land of Sehon from Arnon unto Jaboc, *even unto the children of Ammon;* so as at this time the river of Jaboc was the south bound of Ammon, within the mountains; when as anciently they had also possessions over Jaboc, which at length the Gadites possessed; as in the 13th chapter of Joshua, ver. 25. it appears.

§. 2.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THE chief cities belonging to Reuben were these; Kademoth, for which the Vulgar, without any show of warrant, readeth Jethson[y]. The Vulgar, or Jerome, followed the Septuagint; those two verses, 36 and 37, of Joshua xxi. being wanting in the old Hebrew copies, and the Septuagint read Kedson for Kedmoth, which Kedson by writing slipt into Jethson.

This city, which they gave to the Levites, imparts her name to the desert adjoining; from whence Moses sent his embassage to [z]Sehon. In the same place of Joshua, where this Kedemoth is mentioned, the Vulgar, for *Betser et villa ejus*, reads *Bosor in solitudine Misor*, without any ground from the Hebrew; whence Adrichomius makes a town called [a]Misor, in the border between Reuben and Gad. Further from Kedemoth, near the Dead sea, (for the country between being mountainous hath few cities,) they place two towns of note, Lasa, or Leshah, of which Genesis x. 19. the [b]Greeks call it Callirrhoe; near which there is a hill, from whence there floweth springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water, all which, soon after their rising, being joined in one stream, do make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contractions of sinews; to which Herod the elder, when he was desperate of all other help, repaired, but in vain. [c]Others say, that these springs arise out of the hills of Machærus in this tribe. The like foun-

[y] Josh. xxi. 37.

[z] Deut. ii. 26.

[a] It was a marginal note out of Deut. iii. where the Seventy kept the word Misor, signifying *a plain*, which after crept into the text.

[b] Joseph. 17. Ant. c. 9. et Hieron. in Quæst. Heb. in Gen.

[c] Acosta, l. 3.

tains are found in the Pyrenees and in Peru, called, *the baths of the ingas, or kings.* The other town is Machærus, the next between Lasa and Jordan, of all that part of the world the strongest inland city and castle, standing upon a mountain, every way unaccessible. It was first fortified by Alexander Jannæus, who made it a frontier against the Arabians; but it was demolished by Gabinius in the war with Aristobulus, saith [d] Josephus. It was thither, saith Josephus, that Herod sent John Baptist, and wherein he was slain; his army soon after being utterly overthrown by Aretas king of Arabia, and himself after this murder never prospering. Not far from Machærus was [e] Bosor, or Bozra, a town of refuge, and belonging to the Levites, and near it [f] Livias upon Jordan, which Herod built in honour of Livia, the mother of Tiberius Cæsar.

To the north of Livias is Setim, or [g] Sittim, where the children of Israel embraced the daughters of Midian and Moab, and where Phinehas pierced the body of Zimri and Cosbi with his spear, bringing due vengeance upon them, when they were in the midst of their sin: and from hence Joshua sent the discoverers to view Jericho, staying here until he went over Jordan. As for the torrent [h] Setim, which in this place Adrichomius dreams of, reading Joel iii. 18. *irrigabit torrentem Setim:* the Vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum;* and Junius *vallem cedrorum;* expounding it, not for any particular place in Canaan, but for the *church*, in which the just being placed, grow as the cedars, as it is Psalm xcii. 13.

The plain country hereabout, by [i] Moses called the plains of Moab, where he expounded the book of Deuteronomy to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by Moses. On the south, it had the great desert of Paran, where they had long wandered. On the east, it had Chatseroth and Dizahab, (of

[d] Joseph. 13. Ant. c. 24. et 14. Ant. c. 10. et alibi. Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 25.
[e] Deut. iv. 43. Josh. xx. 8.
[f] Euseb. in Chron. Hier. in loc. Heb.
[g] Numb. xxv. 1.
[h] Josh. iii. 1.
[i] Deut. xxxiv. 1.

which two the former is that Gazorus, of which Ptolomy in Palæstina; the latter was a tract belonging to the Nabathæi in Arabia Petræa, where was [k] Mezahab, of which Gen. xxxvi. 39.) by the geographers called Medava and Medaba. On the west it had Jordan, and on the north it had Laban, (in Junius's edition, by the fault of the print, Lamban, Deut. i. 1.) the same which the geographers call Libias; and some confound it with Livias, of which even now we spake.

Also on the same north side, towards the confines of Cœlesyria, it had Thophel, whereabout sometime Pella of Cœlesyria stood; which was in the region of Decapolis, and, as Stephanus saith, was sometime called Butis. It is also noted in Moses to be over against, or near unto Suph, for which the Vulgar hath the Red sea; as also Numb. ii. 14. it translateth the word *Suphah* in like manner; whereas in this place of Deuteronomy there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to signify the sea; and yet the scripture, when this word is so to be taken, useth the addition of Mara, thereby to distinguish it from the region of Suph, or Suphah, which doubtless was about these plains of Moab, towards the Dead sea; where the country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called; as also the Red sea was called Mare Suph, for like reason.

The place in these large plains of Moab, where Moses made those divine exhortations, some say, was [l] Bethabara, where John baptized, which in the story of Gideon is called Beth-bara. [m] Josephus says, it was where after the city Abila stood, near Jordan, in a place set with palm-trees, which sure was the same as Abel-sittim, in the plains of Moab, Numbers xxxiii. 49. that some call Abel-sathaim, and Bel-sathaim, which is reckoned by Moses in that place of Numbers for the forty-second and last place of the Israelites encamping in the time of Moses. This

[k] The same as it seems which Numb. xxi. 30. is called Medeba, whence we read of the plains of Medeba, Josh. xiii. 9, 16. of which also we read in the wars of David against Hanum the Ammonite 1 Chron. xix. 7. Also 1 Macc. ix. 36. Isai. xvi. 2. See before, c. 5. §. 7.

[l] John i. 28. Judges vii. 24.

[m] Joseph. Ant. iv. 7.

place is also called [m] Sittim; which word, if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from cedars than from thorns, with Adrichomius and others. It was the wood of which the ark of the tabernacle was made.

Toward the east of these plains of Moab, they place the cities [n] Nebo, Baal-meon, Sibma, and Hesbon, the chief city of Sehon and Elealeh, and Kirjathaim, the seat of the giant Emim. Of the two first of these Moses seems to give a note, that the names were to be changed, because they tasted of the Moabites' [o] idolatry. For Nebo (instead of which Junius, Isai. xlvi. 1. reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their idol-oracle, and Baal-meon is the habitation of Baal. Of the same idol was the hill Nebo in these parts denominated, from whose top, which the common translators call Phasgah, Moses, before his death, saw all the land of Canaan beyond Jordan. In which story Junius doth not take Phasgah, or Pisgah, for any proper name, but for an appellative signifying a hill: and so also Vatablus, in some places, as Numb. xxi. 20, where he noteth, that some call Pisgah that top which looketh to Jericho and Hair, as it looketh to Moab; which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of the city of Reuben, mentioned Josh. xiii. 20, called Ashdoth-Pisgah, which is as much as Decursus Pisgæ, to wit, where the waters did run down from Pisgah. In the same place of Joshua there is also named Beth-peor, as belonging to Reuben; so called from the hill Peor, from whence also Baal, the idol, was called Baal-peor, which, they say, was the same as Priapus; the chief place of whose worship seems to have been Bamoth-baal; of which also Josh. xiii. in the cities of Reuben; for which, Numb. xxii. 41. they read *the high places of Baal*, (for so the word signifieth,) to which place Balak first brought Balaam, to curse the Israelites.

[m] Numb. xxv. 1. Exod. xxv. 10.

[n] Numb. xxxii. 37. Gen. xiv. 5. Numb. xxxii.

[o] Exod. xxiii. 13. *Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordamini, ne audiatur in ore tuo.* Psal. xvi. 4. *Non assumpturus sum nomina eorum in labeis meis.* Hosea ii. 17. *Amovebo nomina Bahalimorum ab ore ejus.* What name they used for Nebo, it doth not appear; Baalmeon it seems they named sometime Baiith, as Isai. xv. 2. and sometime Bethmeon, Isai. lviii. 23.

§. 3.

Of divers places bordering Reuben, belonging to Midian, Moab, or Edom.

THERE were besides these divers places of note over Arnon, which adjoined to Reuben; among which they place Gallim, the city of Phalti, to whom [p] Saul gave his daughter Michal from David: but Junius thinks this town to be in Benjamin, gathering so much out of Isaiah x. 29. where it is named among the cities of Benjamin. With better reason, perhaps, out of Numb. xxi. 19. we may say, that Mathana and Nahaliel were in these confines of Reuben, through which places the Israelites passed, after they had left the well called Beer. Then Diblathaim, which the prophet [q] Jeremiah threatened with the rest of the cities of Moab.

Madian also is found in these parts, the chief city of the Madianites in Moab; but not that Midian, or Madian, by the Red sea, wherein Jethro inhabited: for of the Madianites there were two nations, of which these of Moab became idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a regiment of twelve thousand Israelites, sent by Moses out of the plains of Moab, at such time as Israel began to accompany their daughters. Their five kings, with Balaam the soothsayer, were then slain, and their regal city, with the rest, destroyed. The other Madianites, over whom Jethro was prince, or priest, forgat not the God of Abraham their ancestor, but relieved and assisted the Israelites in their painful travels through the deserts, and were in all that passage their guides. In the south border of [r] Moab, adjoining to Edom, and sometime reckoned as the chief city of Edom, there is that Petra, which in the scriptures is called Selah, which is as much as Rupes or Petra. It was also called Jochtheel, as appears by the place, 2 Reg. xiv. It was built (saith [s] Josephus) by Recem, one of those five kings of the Madianites, slain, as before is said; after whom it was called Recem. Now they say it is called Crac and Mozera.

The soldans of Egypt, for the exceeding strength there-

[p] 1 Sam. xviii.
[q] Jerem. xlviii.
[r] Isai. xvi. 1.
[s] Lib. 4. Ant. 7.

of, kept therein all their treasures of Egypt and Arabia; of which it is the first and strongest city; the same, perhaps, which Pliny and Strabo call Nabathea, whence also the province adjoining took name; which name seems to have been taken at first from Nabaioth, the son of Abraham by Keturah. For Nabathea is no where understood for all Arabia Petræa (at least where it is not misunderstood) but it is that province which neighboureth Judæa. For Pharan inhabited by Ismael, whose people Ptolomy calleth Pharanites, instead of Ismaelites, and all those territories of the Cusites, Madianites, Amalekites, Ismaelites, Edomites, or Idumeans, the lands of Moab, Ammon, Hus, Sin, and of Og king of Basan, were parts of [t] Arabia Petræa; though it be also true, that some part of Arabia the Desert belonged to the Amalekites and Ismaelites: all which nations the scriptures in 1 Chron. v. calleth Hagarims, of Hagar.

This city Petra Scaurus besieged with the Roman army; and finding the place in show impregnable, he was content, by the persuasion of Antipater, to take a composition of money, and to quit it. Yet Amasias, king of Juda, (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the Arabians in the valley called Salinarum), won also this city. St. Jerome finds Ruth the Moabite to be natural of this city. In the time when the Christians held the kingdom of [u] Jerusalem, it had a Latin bishop, having before been under the Greek church. It is seated not far from Hor, where Aaron died; and on the other side, towards the north, is the river of [x] Zared or Zered, by which Moses encamped in the thirty-eighth station. Adrichome describeth the waters of Memrim, or rather Nemrim, in his map of Reuben, not far hence, and between Zared and Arnon; and so he doth the valley of Save; but the waters of [y] Nimra, or Beth-Nimra, (for which it seems Adrichomius writ Nemrim,) refreshed the plains of Moab: and the confluence of those waters of

[t] 1 Chron. v. 19, 20.
[u] Gul. Tyr. 20. Bell. Sac. 3.
[x] Numb. xxi. Deut. ii. 13.
[y] Numb. xxxii. 3. Josh. xiii. 27. Isai. xv. 21.

Nimra are in the tribe of Gad. Save also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the south of Arnon, and under Midian. For after Abraham returned from the pursuit of the Assyrian and Persian princes, the king of Sodom met him in the valley of Save, or Shaveh, which is the King's Dale, where Absalom set up his monument, as it seems, not far from Jerusalem. And at the same time Melchizedek, king of Salem, also encountered him. But Abraham coming from the north, and [z] Melchizedek inhabiting either near Bethsan, otherwise Scythopolis, in the half tribe of Manasseh, or in Jerusalem, (both places lying to the west of Jordan,) could not encounter each other in Arabia: and therefore Save, which was also called the King's Dale, could not be in these parts.

§. 4.

Of the Dead sea.

NOW, because the sea of Sodom, or the Dead sea, called also the lake of Asphaltitis, and the Salt sea, (in distinction from the sea of Tiberias, which was fresh water,) also the sea of the wilderness, or rather the sea [a] of the plains, is often remembered in the scriptures, and in this story also; therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof: for it is like unto the Caspian sea, which hath no outlet, or disburdening. The length of this lake Josephus makes 180 furlongs, (which make twenty-two miles and a half of ours,) and about 150 in breadth, which make eighteen of our miles, and somewhat more. Pliny makes it a great deal less. But those that have of late years seen this sea, did account it (saith [b] Weissenburg) eight Dutch miles (which is thirty-two of ours) in length, and two and a half of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this lake, or sea, Tacitus maketh this report; *Lacus est immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis*

[z] Gen. xiv.

[a] So Junius reads for the Hebrew, Haraboth every where, and so also the edition of Vatablus, Deut. iv. it hath *mare solitudinis*, as also 2 Kings xiv. 25. the reason of this name seems to be, because it joins to the plains of Moab, which are called Harboth-Moab, Deut. xxxiv. 1. as also we have Cesuloth in Harbath, that is in the plains, to wit, of Zabulon, 1 Macc. ix. 2. whence Adrichomius imagines a city in Zabulon called Araba.

[b] Deser. Ter. Sancta.

pestifer: neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde superjecta ut solido feruntur, periti imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur, &c. "That it is very great, and (as it were) a sea of a cor- "rupt taste; of smell infectious, and pestilent to the bor- "derers: it is neither moved nor raised by the wind, nor "endureth fish to live in it, or fowl to swim in it. Those "things that are cast into it, and the unskilful of swimming, "as well as the skilful, are borne up by this water. At one "time of the year it casteth up bitumen; the art of gather- "ing which, experience (the finder of other things) hath "also taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the "like businesses."

And then of the land he speaketh in this sort: "The "fields not far from this lake, which were sometime fruit- "ful, and adorned with great cities, were burnt with light- "ning; of which the ruins remain, the ground looking "with a sad face, as having lost her fruitfulness: for what- "soever doth either grow, or is set thereon, be it fruits or "flowers, when they come to ripeness, have nothing within "them, but moulder into ashes." Thus far Tacitus. And it is found by experience, that those pomegranates, and other apples, or oranges, which do still grow on the banks of this cursed lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the out- side; but being cut, have nothing but dust within. Of the bitumen which this lake casteth up, it was by the Greeks called *asphaltitis*. Vespasian, desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went on purpose to see this lake, and caused certain captives to be cast into it, who were not only unskilful in swimming, but had their hands also bound behind them; and notwithstanding, they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sink.

§. 5.

Of the kings of Moab, much of whose country within Arnon, Reuben possessed.

OF the kings of Moab, whose country (within Arnon) Reuben possessed (though not taken from Moab, but from Sehon the Amorite) few are known. Junius in Numbers

xxi. 14. nameth Vaheb, which seemeth to be the ancestor or predecessor of Balac, the son of Zippor, which Balac sent for Balaam to curse Israel. For, fearing to contend with Moses by arms, by the examples of Sehon and Og, he hoped, by the help of Balaam's cursings, or enchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though Balaam at the first, moved by the Spirit of God, blessed [c] Israel, contrary to the hope and desire of Moab; yet being desirous in some sort to satisfy him, and to do him service, he advised Moab to send Madianitish women among the Israelites, hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the idolatry of the heathen; but in the end he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counsel, and was slain among the rest of the princes of Midian.

After these times the kings of the Moabites are not named; saving that we find in 1 Chron. iv. that Jokim, and the men of Chozeba, and Joash, and Sareph, all being of the issue of Juda, sometime had the dominion in Moab: but as it is written in the same verse, *These also are ancient things*, to wit, as some expound it, The particulars of these men's governments are no where extant, or remaining: or as others, *Hæc prius fuere;* These families of Juda were once thus famous: but now their posterity choose rather to abide in Babylon, and be clay-workers to the king there.

Then we find Eglon king of Moab, who with the help of [d] Ammon and Amalek mastered Israel, and commanded them eighteen years; which Eglon Ehud slew in his own house, and afterwards 10,000 of his nation. What name the king of Moab had, unto whom David fled, fearing [e] Saul, it doth not appear; or whether it were the same against whom Saul made war, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this Moabite was an enemy to [f] Saul, he received David, and relieved him, knowing that Saul sought his life.

[c] Numb. xxi. xxii. xxiii. xxiv. Josh. xxiv.
[d] Judg. iii.
[e] 1 Sam. xxii.
[f] 1 Sam. xiv.

After this, David himself entered the region of [g] Moab, but not likely in the same king's time; [h] for he slaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was said of David, [i] *Moab is my washpot, over Edom will I cast my shoe;* meaning, that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base services: and that he would tread down the Idumeans.

The next king, after David's time, of the Moabites, whose name liveth, was Mesha; who falling from Judah (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of David) fastened himself to the kings of Israel, and paid tribute to [k] Ahab 100,000 lambs, and 200,000 rams with the wool: who revolting again from Israel, after the death of Ahab, was invaded by Jehoram, with whom joined the kings of Judah and Idumæa; and being by these three kings pressed and broken, he fled to Kir-hareseth, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites without the king's name; when that nation, assisted by the Ammonites and Idumeans, invaded Jehoshaphat. And by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the Moabites and Ammonites set upon the Idumeans, and slaughtered them; and then one against another, so as [l] Jehoshaphat had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of [m] Jeremiah the prophet, there was a king of Moab, which is not named, which was after Mesha of Moab many descents: for Mesha lived with Jehoram and this Moabite in Zedekiah's time, fourteen kings of Judah coming between, who wasted 300 and odd years.

SECT. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THE territory adjoining to Reuben is that of Gad, whereof all that part which joined to the mountains was some time in the possession of the Ammonites, as far to the south as Aroer. Of the children of Gad, the seventh son

[g] 2 Sam. viii.
[h] 1 Chron. xviii.
[i] Psal. lx. 10.
[k] 2 Kings iii.
[l] 2 Chron. xx.
[m] Jerem. xxvii.

of Jacob by Zelpha, the handmaid of [n] Leah, there parted out of Egypt and died in the deserts 45,550, and of their sons there entered the land promised 45,000 bearing arms: from the half tribe of Manasseh, the river of Jaboc divided them; from Reuben, the cities of Hesbon, Elhele, and Aphec.

The chief city of Gad was Aroer, which they make to be the same with Ar, or [o] Rabbath-Moab, the great or commanding Moab. But the learned Junius, attending diligently to those words of Moses, Deut. ii. 36. *Ab Harahero, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, et civitate ipsa quæ est in flumine;* where the city in the river is distinguished from the city upon the bank of the river (as also in like manner, Josh. xii. 2. and xiii. 9.) thinketh, that Haroher, which doubtless belonged to the Gadites, (as Numb. xxxii. 34. it is said that they built it,) was indeed seated near Har of the Moabites; but diverse from it. For that Har was never possessed by Moses, it is plain, Deut. ii. 9. where God, forbidding Moses to touch it, saith, he hath given Har for an inheritance to the sons of Lot. Now that this city, which in divers places is said to be within and in the middle of the river of Arnon, (and so distinguished from Haroher, which is said in the same places to be on the bank of Arnon,) is Har of the Moabites; the same Junius proveth out of Numb. xxi. 15. where Arnon is said to be divided into divers streams, where, or among which, Har is seated: and the same is confirmed by the place of Josh. xiii. 25. where Haroher is said to be seated before Rabbah; which Rabbah as it seems, cannot be the Rabbah of the Ammonites, (for they seat not Haroher near it, nor in sight of it,) and therefore by Rabbah, here we must understand Rabbah of Moab, which they make to be Ar or Har; and so we must needs distinguish it from Haroher. And as for Har [p], (which also gave the name to the coast adjoining,) it seems it continued in the possession of the Moabites, after they

[n] Gen. xxx. Numb. i. 26, 32. Josh. xiii.

[o] Isai. xv. Deut. ii.

[p] Deut. ii. 9. Out of which place the words Numb. xxi. 28. are to be expounded; not that the city of Har, but the coast adjoining, was wasted by Sehon.

had once expelled the giant-like people, called Emims, first weakened by [q] Chedorlaomer and his associates: but Haroher, by the interchange of times, suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the Moabites by Sehon, and from him by the Israelites; and from them, as it seems in the story of Jephtha, by the Ammonites; and from the Ammonites again, by the Israelites, under the conduct of Jephtha. In St. Jerome's time, the greatest part of this city perished by an earthquake, as also Zoar, in which Lot saved himself in the destruction of Sodom, seated not far hence; which they say was therefore called *vitula consternans*, because, as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was thrice overthrown with earthquakes; for which cause also [r] Jerome seems to think that this Zoar was called Salissa or Bal-salissa, as if Bal had been a remainder of the old name Balah or Belah (of which Gen. xiv. 2.) and Salisha, which hath a signification of the ternary number, had alluded to the three earthquakes.

Brochard takes Haroher to be Petra, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that Petra was in the south border of Moab, adjoining to Edom, whereas Haroher is in the north-east border. Between Haroher and Jordan they seat Dibon, which is attributed to the Gadites, because they are said to have built it, Numb. xxxii. 34. though Joshua xiii. 17. it is said that Moses gave it the Reubenites. Of this city, among the rest of Moab, both Isaiah xv. and Jeremiah xlviii. prophesied that it should perish; and the lakes about it run with the blood of the inhabitants. It was a great village near Arnon in St. Jerome's time.

Keeping the banks of Arnon, one of the next cities of fame to Aroer, was Beth-nimrah, of which Isaiah xv. 21. prophesieth, *That the waters thereof should be dried up; and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not far from Beth-nimrah in this tribe Adrichomius placeth Jogbeha, and

[q] Gen. xiv. 5. Judg. xi. 35.

[r] Hier. in Epitaph. Paul. et in Quæst. et Loc. Hebr. see Junius's Annotations upon 1 Sam. ix. 2. where he makes Shalisha a plain country in Benjamin, and the same with Bal-shalisha, 2 Kings iv. 42. where he expounds Bal or Bahal to be as much as Planities.

Nobach, or Nobe; of both which we read in the story of [s] Gideon; and that Jogbeha was in Gad built by the Gadites, it appears Numb. xxxii. 35. and therefore Nobach also must needs be in these parts; but whether in Gad or Manasseh, it is not certain; only that it was anciently called Kenath, Moses witnesseth: [t] *Nobach also*, saith he, *went and took Kenath with her towns, and called it Nobach of his own name;* where because the verses precedent speak of the Manassites, and because it is not likely that Moses would have severed this seat of the Gadites from the rest, of which he spake before, verses 34, 35, 36, therefore it may seem that this [u] Nobach was in that part of Manasseh which was in the east of Jordan; though Adrichomius place it in Gad. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with Nob, which Saul destroyed, of this we shall speak [x] in the tribe of Benjamin. And as for that Karkor where Zebach and Salmunna rested themselves in their flight from Gideon, to which place Gideon marched through this Nobach and Jogbeha, though some place it in Gad, and make it the same with Kir-chares, of which Isaiah xv. and 2 Kings iii. 25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in Gad; and if it be the same with Kirchares, it is certain that it was a principal city held still by the Moabites, and not in the tribe of Gad.

In the body of this tribe of Gad they place [y] Hataroth; of which name the scripture witnesseth that two cities were built by the Gadites; the former simply called Hataroth, the latter Hatroth-Shophan; for which latter the Vulgar makes two cities, Roth and Shophan: the name Hataroth is as much as Coronæ.

In the valley of the kingdom of Sehon, together with Beth-nimrah, of which we have spoken, Josh. xiii. 27. nameth Beth-haram, and Succoth; the former Numb. xxxii. 36. (where it is called Beth-haram,) together with Beth-

[s] Judg. viii. 11.
[t] Numb. xxxii. 42.
[u] Numb. xxi. 30. It is called Nophach, and placed in the border of the kingdom of Sehon towards Basan, and therefore it is not altogether unprobable that it was in Gad.
[x] Chap. xii. sect. 1. Judg. viii. 10.
[y] Numb. xxxii. 34, 35.

nimrah, is said to have been built by the Gadites, which (perhaps the rather because in Joshua it is called Beth-haram,) some take to be Betaramptha, (of which [z] Josephus,) after by Herod called Julias. But whether this Betaramptha were corrupted from Beth-haram, or from Beth-aramatha, (of which Aramatha there is mention in [a] Josephus,) or from Beth-remphan, (of which Remphan, an idol of those countries, we read Acts vii. 43. and to which Junius refers the name of the city Rephan, 1 Macc. xxxvii.) of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching Julias, (according to Josephus, sometimes Betaramptha,) the same Josephus placeth it in the region of Peræa beyond Jordan; which Regio Peræa, as the Greek word signifieth, is no more than Regio Ulterior, the country beyond the river; and therefore they, which labour to set down the bounds of this Peræa, take more pains than needs. Fourteen villages this Julias had belonging unto it, according to [b] Josephus. He makes it to have been built by Herod Antipas, and named Julias in honour of the adoption of Livia, Augustus's wife, into the Julian family; by which adoption she was called Julia. Another Julias, he [c] saith, was built by Philip the brother of Herod, in the lower Gaulanitis, which he saith is the same as Bethsaida.

Upon the sea of Galilee near to Julias in Peræa, (that is, in the region over Jordan,) they find Vetezobra, as it is called in [d] Josephus, for Beth-ezob, which is as much as *domus hissopi*. Of a noble woman of this city, which for safeguard in the time of war with the Romans, came with many others into Jerusalem, and was there besieged, Josephus in the place noted reports a lamentable history, how for hunger she eat her own child, with other tragical accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of Succoth (which we said Josh. xiii. is placed with Benharan, in the valley of the kingdom of Sehon,) it is plain by

[z] Joseph. 1. Ant. 18. c. 3.

[a] Lib. 7. Ant. c. 7. Ubi Græcus codex legit Ἀραμαθα, Latinus, Rabatha Metropolis Hammonitarum.

[b] Ant. 20. 11.

[c] Joseph. Ant. 18. 3. et Bell. Jud. 2. 8.

[d] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 8.

the story of [e] Gideon that it is near unto Jordan; where it is said, that as he was past Jordan with his 300, weary in the pursuit of Zebah and Salmunah, he requested relief of the men of Succoth; who denying him, and that with contempt, in Gideon's return were by him tortured, as it seems, under a threshing-car, or *tribulum*, between which and their flesh he put thorns, to tear their flesh as they were pressed and trod under the *tribulum*; and after which sort also David used some of the [f] Ammonites, though not with thorns, but with iron teeth of the *tribulum*. As for the name of Succoth, which signifieth such tabernacles as were made in haste, either for men or cattle, Moses, Gen. xxxiii. 17. witnesseth, that the original of the name was from such harbours, which Jacob in his return from Mesopotamia built in that place; as also the place beyond the [g] Red sea, where the children of Israel, as they came from Rameses in Egypt, had their first station, was upon like reason called Succoth; because there they set up their first [h] tabernacles or tents, which they used after for forty years in the wilderness. In remembrance whereof the feast of Succoth or tabernacles was instituted.

Other four cities of Gad are named Josh. xxi. 38. Ramoth in Gilehad, Machanaiim, Chesbon, and Jahzer, all of them by the Gadites given to the Levites; of which Jahzer, as Chesbon, or Hesbon, was a chief city of Sehon, whence Numb. xxxii. 1. his country is called the land of Jahzer. It was taken by Moses, having first sent spies to view it. In the first of the Chronicles it is made part of Gilehad. In later times (as it may be gathered by the prophecy of Isaiah, touching Moab) it was possessed by the Moabites; to which place of Isaiah vi. 8. also Jeremiah xlviii. 32. in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seems from the Ammonites) by Judas Maccabæus: as it is 1 Macc. v. 8. where Junius out of Josephus reads Jahzer, though the Greek hath Gazer. For Gazer, or Gezer, (as he gathereth out of Joshua xvi. 3, 8. and

[e] Judg. viii. 5.
[f] 2 Sam. xii. 31.
[g] Exod. xii. 37.
[h] Levit. xxiii. 43.

Judg. i. 29.) was far from these countries of Sehon, seated in the west border of Ephraim, not possessed by the Israelites, until Solomon's time; for whom the king of Egypt won it from the Canaanite, and gave it him as a dowery with his daughter.

Of Chesbon it may be marvelled, that in the place of Joshua, and 1 Chron. vi. 81. it should be said to have been given to the Levites by the Gadites, seeing Joshua xiii. 17. it is reckoned for a principal city of the Reubenites. Adrichomius, and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding Casbon, 1 Macc. v. 36. among the cities of Gilehad, taken by Judas Maccabæus, makes two cities of one; as if this Casbon had been the Chesbon of Gad, and that of Reuben distinct from it; but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering city, between Gad and Reuben, was common to both, and that the Gadites gave their part to the Levites; for so also it seemeth, that in like reason Dibon is said in one place built by the Gadites, and in another given to Reuben, as before is noted. Of Machanaiim, which word signifieth a double army, we read Genesis xxxii. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the angels of God in that place met Jacob in manner of another host, or company, to join with him for his defence; as also Luke ii. 13. we read of a multitude of the host of heaven, which appeared to the shepherds at the time of our Saviour's birth; and so unto the godly king Oswald of Northumberland, when he was soon after to join battle with the Pagan Penda of Middle-England. Beda reports, that the like comfort appeared; whence the field where the battle was fought in the north parts of England is called Heavenfield. In this city of Machanaiim, David abode during the rebellion of Absalom; and the same, for the strength thereof, Abner chose for the seat of Ishboseth, during the war between David and the house of Saul.

Of the fourth town, which was Ramoth in Gilehad, we read often in the scripture; for the recovering of which, king Achab lost his life. Junius thinks that Ramathamitspæ, of which Josh. xiii. 26. was this Ramoth in Gilehad.

Concerning the place where Laban and Jacob sware one to the other, as it was called Gilehad, which is as much as a witnessing heap, because of the heap of stones which Laban and his sons left for a monument; so also that it was called Mitspah, which signifieth overlooking, (because there they called God to oversee and be witness to their covenant,) it is plain by the place, Genesis xxxi. 49. that in these parts there was not only a town, but likewise a region called Mitspah, it appears Josh. xi. 3. where we read of the Chivites under Hermon, in the country of Mitspah [i], the town of Mitspah, as it seems both by this place and in the eighth verse following, being not in the hill country, but in the valley. But seeing that Jephtha the judge of Israel, who after he came home from Tob (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in this town of Mitspah, who doubtless was of the tribe of Manasseh, and thence at first expelled by his brethren; it may seem that they do not well which place this town of [k] Mitspah rather in Gad than in Manasseh. By [l] Judas Maccabæus this town of Mitspah (whether in Gad or in Manasseh) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and all the males of it slain; for it was then possessed of the Ammonites.

Between Succoth (of which we have spoken) and the river Jaboc, was that Peniel, or Penuel, which name signifieth *locum faciei Dei* [m]; "a place where the face of God "was seen:" so called for memory of the angel's appearing to Jacob, and wrestling with him there: the churlishness of which city, in refusing to relieve Gideon, was the cause that in his return he overthrew their [n] tower, and slew the chief aldermen thereof. To these places of the Gadites they add Rogelim, the city of that great and faithful subject [o] Barzillai, as it seems, not far from Mahanaima, where he sustained king David during Absalom's rebellion. To these they add the towns of Gaddi, Arnon, and Alimis, of

[i] Of other towns of this name, see in the tribe of Benjamin.
[k] Judges xi. 36.
[l] 1 Macc. v. 35.
[m] Gen. xxxii. 30.
[n] Judg. viii. 17.
[o] 2 Sam. xix. 33.

which Gaddi being in Hebrew no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made a name of a place. Arnon also nowhere appears to be the name of a town, but still of a river. Alimis Adrichomius frames of ἐν Ἀλέμοις 1 Macc. v. 26. so that the name should rather be Alema; but Junius out of Josephus reads Mallæ, for this in Alimis; and understanding [p] Mallæ to be put for Millo, and to be as much as *munitio*, (as we have shewed touching the Millo of the Sichemites,) he takes this Mallæ to be Mitspah Moabitarum, of which 1 Sam. xxii. 3. As for that Mageth which Adrichomius finds in this tribe of Gad, it is that Mahacath which Moses noteth to be as far as the farthest of Manasses, out of the bounds of this tribe. So also Dathema, of which 1 Macc. v. 10. (which Junius takes to be [q] Rithma, of which Numb. xxxiii. 18. a place of strength in the territory of the Ammonites,) and in like manner Minnith and Abel-Vinearum, though by some they be attributed to the Gadites, or to their borders, yet they are found further off. For of the two last we read in Jephtha's pursuit of the Ammonites; seated, as it seems by that place of the book of Judges, the former of them in the south border, and the other in the east border, both far removed from the Gadites. But the chief city of the Ammonites was nearer, and not far from the borders of Gad. It is called in the scriptures sometime Rabbath, as Deuteronomy iii. 11. but more often Rabba. It is supposed to be that [r] Philadelphia which Ptolomy finds in Cœlesyria; Jerome and Callistus in Arabia. It was conquered by Og from the Ammonites; but, as it seems, never possessed by the Israelites after the

[p] Deut. iii. 14. Josh. xii. 5.

[q] The letters *D* and *R* in the Hebrew are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another; and sometimes without mistaking one is put for another; as, for *Rodanim*, 1 Chron. vii. we have *Dodanim*, Gen. x. 4.

[r] Other names of this city, according to Stephanus, were Ammana and Astarte; but in this latter perhaps he mistook, which might seem to be the same Astaroth, one of the chief cities of Og, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of Manasses. Adrichomius says, it was also called *Urbs aquarum*, because of the river Jaboc's winding about it, but in the place, 2 Sam. xxvii. whence he gathers this opinion, Junius reads *intercepi ab urbe aquam*, if we must read with others *cepi urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of Rabba itself, but of some fort adjoining.

overthrow of Og, but left to the Ammonites; whereupon at length it became the regal seat of the Ammonites, but of old it was the possession of the Zamzummims; which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickedness infamous. The same were also called Raphaim, of whom was Og, which recovered much of that which the Ammonites had got from his ancestors; who having been first beaten by the Assyrians, and their assistants, (as the Emims in Moab, and the Horims in Seir had been,) were afterward the easier conquered by the Ammonites, as the Emims were by Moab, and the Horims by the Idumeans. Yet did the races of Emoreus, of whom these giants were descended, contend with the conquerors for their ancient inheritance; and as Sehon of Hesbon had dispossessed Moab, so had Og of Basan the Ammonites, and between them recovered the best part of all the valley between the mountains and Jordan. For this Og was also master of Rabba, or Philadelphia; and in the possession of the one or the other of these two Moses and Israel found all those cities and countries which were given to Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. So that though it were 450 years since that the Zamzummims or Raphaims were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance; but having these two kings of one kindred, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, Og and Sehon, both Amorites, they recovered again much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sons of Lot over the mountains, and into the deserts. And as the kings or captains of Persia and Assyria (remembered Genesis xiv.) made way for Ammon, Moab, and Edom; so by that great conquest which Moses had over those two Amorites, Og and Sehon, did the Moabites and Ammonites take opportunity to look back again into those plains, and when the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites forsook the worship of the living God, and became slothful and licentious, they taking the advantage invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions, and were sometime their masters, sometime their tributaries, as they pleased or dis-

pleased God; and according to the wisdom and virtue of their commanders.

In this city of Rabba was the iron bed of Og found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth, Deut. iii. The city was taken in David's time, and the inhabitants slain with great severity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof Uriah was shot to death, having been by direction from David appointed to be employed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape; wherein also many of the best of the army perished, and wherein David so displeased God, as his affairs had ill success afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had David the weighty and rich crown of gold, which the [s] kings of Ammon wore; or which, as some expound it, was used to be set on the head of their idol, weighing a talent, which is sixty pound weight after the common talent. In the time of Christians it had a metropolitan bishop, and under him twelve others.

The mountains which are described within this tribe and that of Manasseh, with a part of Reuben, are those which Ptolomy calleth the hills of Hippus, a city of Cœlesyria; and [t] Strabo, Trachones; the same which continue from near Damascus unto the deserts of Moab, and receive divers names, as commonly mountains do which neighbour and bound divers countries: for from the south part, as far northward as Asteroth, the chief city of Og, they are called Galaad, or Gilead; from thence northward they are known by the name of Hermon, for so Moses calleth them; the Sidonians name them Shirion; but the Amorites Shenir, others Seir; of which name all those hills also were called, which part Judæa and Idumæa; and lastly, they are called Libanus; for so the prophet, Jer. xxii. makes them all one, calling the high mountains of Galaad the head of Libanus. These mountains are very fruitful, and full of good pastures, and have many trees which yield [u] balsamum, and

[s] 2 Sam. xii. Will. Tyr. Bell. Sac. 13. cap. 12.

[t] Strabo l. 16. Τραχὼν is *locus asper et salebrosus*: whence it appears, that Trachonitis regio in these parts was properly the hill country.

[u] Hier. 8. et 9.

many other medicinable drugs. The rivers of this tribe are the waters of Nimrah and Dibon, and the river Jaboc; others do also fancy another river, which, rising out of the rocks of Arnon, falleth into Jordan.

SECT. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose territories the Gadites won from Og the king of Basan.

THIS tribe of Gad possessed half the country of the Ammonites, who together with the Moabites held that part of Arabia Petræa called Nabathea, as well within as without the mountains of Gilead; though at this time, when the Gadites won it, it was in the possession of Sehon and Og, Amorites: and therefore Moses did not expel the Ammonites, but the Amorites, who had thrust the issues of Lot over the mountains Trachones, or Gilead, as before. After the death of Othoniel, the first judge of Israel, the Ammonites joined with the Moabites against the Hebrews, and so continued long. [x] Jephtha, judge of Israel, had a great conquest over one of the kings of Ammon, but his name is omitted. In the time of Samuel they were at peace with them again.

Afterward we find that cruel king of the Ammonites, called Nahas; who besieging [y] Jabes Gilead, gave them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tendered so hard a composition was, (besides this desire to bring shame upon Israel,) because those Gileadites using to carry a target on their left arms, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right be utterly disabled to defend themselves; but Saul came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This Nahas, as it may seem, became the confederate of David, having friended him in Saul's time, though [z] Josephus thinks that this Nahas was slain in the battle, when Saul raised the siege of Jabes, who affirmeth that there were three kings of the Moabites of that name.

[x] Judg. x. [y] 1 Sam. xi. [z] Joseph. Ant. l. 6. c. 5. &c. 2 Sam. x. 4. 18.

Hanon succeeded Nahas; to whom when David sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the ambassadors' garments to the knees, and shaved the half of their beards. But afterwards, notwithstanding the aids received from the Aramites subject to Adadezer, and from the *reguli* of Rehob and Maacah, and from [b] Istob, yet all those Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were overturned; their chief city of Rabba, after Philadelphia, was taken, the crown, which weighed a talent of gold, was set on David's head; all such as were prisoners David executed with strange severity; for with saws and harrows he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into limekilns.

Jehoshaphat governing Juda, they assisted the Moabites their neighbours against him, and perished together. Osias made them tributaries, and they were again by Jotham enforced to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, one hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley; which the Ammonites continued two years.

The fifth king of the Ammonites, of whose name we read, was Baalis, the confederate of Zedekiah; after whose taking by Nabuchodonosor, Baalis sent Ismael, of the blood of the kings of Juda, to slay Gedaliah, who served Nabuchodonosor.

SECT. VII.

Of the other half of Manasseh.

THE rest of the land of Gilead, and of the kingdom of Og in Basan, with the land of Hus and Argob, or Trachonitis, (wherein also were part of the small territories of [c] Ba-

[b] Istob, that is, the men of Thob: Thob is a small territory under Arnon hills. Rehob is another between Hazor and Sidon, in the north bound of Canaan, Num. xiii. 22. of which see in the tribe of Asher, Jer. xl. and xli. 2 Chron. xx. xxxvi. xxvi. xxvii.

[c] Another territory adjoining to Manasseh, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that Thishbitis, the country of Elias, as it is 1 Kings xvi. 1. and of Tobias, Tob. i. 2. it lay on the east to the tribe of Nephthali, on the right hand of it, as in Tob. i. 2. and was possessed

tanea, Gaulonitis, Gessuri, Machati, and Auranitis,) was given to the half tribe of Manasseh over Jordan, of which those three latter provinces defended themselves against them for many ages. But Batanea Ptolomy setteth further off, and to the north-east, as a skirt of Arabia the Desert: and all these other provinces before named with Peræa and Ituræa, he nameth but as part of Cœlesyria, as far south as Rabba or Philadelphia; likewise all the rest which belonged to Gad and Reuben, saving the land near the Dead sea, he makes a part of Arabia Petræa; for many of these small kingdoms take not much more ground than the county of Kent.

Basan, or, after the Septuagint, Basanitis, stretcheth itself from the river of Jaboc to the [d] Machati and Gessuri; and from the mountains to Jordan, a region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of cattle. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world; especially of oaks, which bear mast, (of which the prophet Zacharias, *Howl, O ye oaks of Bashan*,) and by reason hereof they bred so many swine, as [e] 2000 in one herd were carried headlong into the sea by the unclean spirits which Christ had cast out of one of the Gaderens. It had in it threescore cities, walled and defenced; all which, after Og and his sons were slain, Jair, descended of Manasseh, conquered, and called the country after his own name, Avoth Jair, or the cities of Jair.

The principal cities of this half tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these; Pella, sometimes [f] Butis, otherwise Berenice; by Seleucus, king of Syria, it is said to have been called Pella, after the name of that Pella in Macedon, in which

by colonies of the Israelites in the time of Saul, after his victory over the Amalekites and Ismaelites in those parts, as it is gathered out of 1 Chron. v. 10. whence it appears that it was part of Ituræa, of which, chap. 7. sect. 4. §. 5 and 6.

[d] So they call them of Mahacath, of which Mahacath somewhat hath been spoken towards the end of the fifth paragraph of this chapter. See 1 Mac. v. 36. and Deut. iii. 14. and Josh. xii. 5.

[e] Mark v. 13.

[f] Anciently, as it seems, it was called Tophel. See above in the bounds of the plains of Moab, in this chapter, sect. 4. §. 2.

both Philip the father and his son Alexander the Great were born. It was taken, and in part demolished, by Alexander Jannæus, king of the Jews, because it refused to obey the Jews' laws; but it was repaired by Pompey, and annexed to the government of Syria. It is now but a village, saith Niger. Carnaim by the river of Jaboc, taken by [g] Judas Maccabæus, where he set on fire the [h] temple of their idols, together with all those that fled thereinto for sanctuary; and near it they place the castle of Carnion, of which 2 Mac. xii. 22. Then the strong city of [i] Ephron near Jordan, which refusing to yield passage to [k] Judas Maccabæus, was forced by him by assault, and taken and burnt with great slaughter.

Jabes Gilead, or Jabesus, was another of the cities of this half tribe, which being besieged by [l] Nahas, king of the Ammonites, was delivered by Saul, as is [m] elsewhere mentioned. In memory whereof the citizens [n] recovered, embalmed, and buried the bodies of Saul and his sons, which hung despitefully over the walls of Bethsan, or Scythopolis. [o] Gaddara, or Gadara, is next to be named, seated by Pliny on a hill near the river Hieromiace, which river Ortelius seems to think to be Jaboc. At the foot of the hill there spring forth also hot baths, as at Machærus. Alexander Jannæus, after ten months siege, won it, and subverted it. Pompey restored it; and Gabinius [p] made it one of the five courts of justice in Palestine. Jerusalem being the first, Gadara the second, Emath or Amathus the third, Jericho and Sephora in Galilee the fourth and fifth. The citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of Herod, surnamed Ascalonita, accused him to Julius Cæsar of many crimes; but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that Herod was highly favoured of Cæsar, fearing the terrible [q] revenge of Herod,

[g] 1 Mac. v.
[h] Joseph. 12. Ant. 12.
[i] 1 Mac. v.
[k] 2 Mac. xii. 27.
[l] 1 Sam. xi.
[m] Joseph. 6. Ant. 5.
[n] 1 Sam. xxxi.
[o] 1 Chron. x.
[p] Joseph. 14. Ant. 13.
[q] Joseph. 15. Ant. 13.

they slew themselves; some by strangling, others by leaping over high towers, others by drowning themselves.

To the east of Gadara they place Sebei, [r] in which Josephus, Ant. 5. 13. saith Jephtha, was buried; whence others, reading with the Vulgar, Jud. xii. 7. *Sepultus est in civitate sua Gilehad*, (for, *in una civitatum Gilehad*,) imagine Gilehad to be the name of a city, and to be the same with Sebei. In like manner following the Vulgar, 1 Mac. v. 26. where it readeth Casphor for Chesbon; the same Adrichomius imagineth it to be *ampla et firma Gilehaditarum civitas:* so of one city Hesbon, or Chesbon, which they call Essebon, the chief city of Sehon in the tribe of Reuben, he imagineth two more: this Casphor in Manasses, and a city in Gad which he calleth Casbon, of which we have admonished the reader heretofore. Of Gamala, (so called because the hill on which it stood was in fashion like the back of a camel,) which Josephus placeth not far from Gadara, in the lower Gaulanitis, over-against Tarichea, which is on the west side of the sea or lake of Tiberias. See this Josephus in his fourth book of the Jewish War, c. 1. 3. where he describes the place by nature to be almost invincible; and in the story of the siege, shews how Vespasian, with much danger of his own person, entering it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable accidents; and how at length, after the coming of Titus, when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks, with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished; besides four thousand slain by the Romans; so that none escaped, save only two women that hid themselves.

About four miles west from Gadara, and as much east from Tiberias, (which is on the other side of the lake,) Josephus placeth Hippus, or Hippene, whence [s] Ptolomy gives the name to the hills that compass the plains in which it standeth; so that it may seem to have been of no small note. It is seated far from the hill country; on the east of the lake, as also Pliny noteth, lib. 5. cap. 15. it was restored by

[r] Of Mitspa in Gilead, the city of Jephtha, see in the tribe of Gad.

[s] In Vita sua.

Pompey; after by [t] Augustus added to Herod's tetrarchy; it was wasted by the Jews, in the beginning of their rebellion; when by many massacres of their nation they were enraged against their borderers.

The next city of note, but of more ancient fame, is [u] Edrehi, or Edrai, wherein Og king of Basan chiefly abode when Moses and Israel invaded him; and near unto this his regal city it was that he lost the battle and his life. It stood in St. Jerome's time, and had the name of Adar, or Adara. Not far from these towns near Jordan, in this valley, stood Gerassa, or Gergessa, inhabited by the Gergesites, descended of the fifth son of Canaan. Of these Gergesites we read Matt. viii. 28. that Christ coming from the other side of the lake of Tiberias, landed in their coasts; where casting the devils out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the herd of hogs: in which story, for Gergesites, or Gergesins, [x] St. Luke and St. Mark have Gadarens; not as if these were all one, (for Gergessa, or Gerassa, is a distinct town in these parts from Gadera,) but the bounds being confounded, and the cities neighbours, either might well be named in this story. This city received many changes and calamities, of which Josephus hath often mention. For besides other adventures, it was taken by L. Annius, lieutenant to Vespasian, and 1000 of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the city burnt. In the year 1120 it was rebuilt by Baldwin king of Damascus; and in the same year recovered by Baldwin de Burgo, king of Jerusalem, and by him utterly razed. Near unto Gerasa is the village of Magedan, or, after the Syriac, Magedu, or, after the Greek, Magdala, where the Pharisees and Sadducees, Matt. xv. desired of our Saviour a sign from heaven; the same place, or some adjoining to it, which [y] St. Mark calleth Dalmanutha. By the circumstances of which story it appears that this coast lay between the lake of Tiberias and the country of Decapolis. [z] Brochard makes both these places to be one,

[t] Joseph. Bell. Jud. 2. c. 19.

[u] Of another Edrehi in Nephtalim, see Josh. xix. 37. Deut. iii. 1. and 10. item Josh. xiii. 31.

[x] Mark v. Luke viii.

[y] Mark viii.

[z] Broch. Itin. 2. Of this Phiale, see in Naph. c. 7. sect. 4. §. 3.

and finds it to be Phiale, the fountain of Jordan, according to Josephus: but this Phiale is too far from the sea of Galilee and from Bethsaida to be either Magdala or Dalmanutha. For, as it appears by the story, not far hence towards the north was the desert of Bethsaida, [a] where Christ filled 5000 people with the five barley loaves and two fishes.

On the north of this Bethsaida they place Julias, not that which was built by Herod, but the other by Philip, which boundeth the region Trachonitis toward the south. It was sometimes a village, and not long after the birth of Christ it was compassed with a wall by Philip the tetrarch of Ituræa and Trachonitis; and after the name of Julia, the wife of Tiberius, called Julias, as hath been further spoken in the tribe of Gad, where it was noted that [b] Josephus makes this Julias to be the same as Bethsaida. Upon the east side of the same lake of Tiberias stands Corozaim, or Corazim, of which Christ in Matthew, *Wo be unto thee, Corazim.*

But the principal city of all these in ancient time was Asteroth, sometime peopled with the giants Raphaim; and therefore the country adjoining called the land of giants, of whose race was Og, king of Basan. In Genesis xvi. 5. this city is called Asteroth of Carnaim, whence 1 Macc. v. 26. it is called simply Carnaim, as Josh. xiii. 21. it is called Asteroth without the addition of Carnaim. The word [c] Carnaim signifieth a pair of horns, which agree well with the name of their idol Astoreth, which was the image of a sheep, as it is elsewhere noted, that Astaroth in Deut. signifieth sheep. Others, from the ambiguity of the Hebrew, take Karnaim to have been the name of the people which inhabited this city, and expound it *Heroes radientes* [d]. For of old the Raphæi, which inhabited this city, Gen. xiv. 5.

[a] Matt. xiv. Mark vi. Luke ix. John vi.

[b] Joseph. 8. Ant. 3. et alibi.

[c] See chap. 7. sect. 3. §. 2.

[d] Because horn when it is polished shineth; hence it is that the verb of this noun is sometimes *lucere*; as it were *corneum esse*: whereupon the Vulgar, Exod. xxxiv. 19. reading *cornutam corneam*, or *lucidam faciem*, gave occasion to the fabulous painters to paint Moses with horns, Judith i. 8. 1 Cant. v.

were giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words Deut. iii. 11. *Og ex residuo gigantum*, with the words Josh. xiii. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphaæorum*; but if the Karnaim, or Karnaiim, were these Raphæi, the word would not have been in the dual number; neither would Moses in the place of Genesis have said the Raphæi in Asteroth of the Karnaim, but either the Raphæi in Asteroth of the Raphæi, or some other way fittest for perspicuity; for this naming of both thus in the same clause distinguisheth one from the other.

Not far from Asteroth, Adrichomius out of Brochard and Breidenbachius placeth Cedar in the way out of Syria into Galilee, four miles from Corazin. This city, saith he, is remembered in the Canticles, and in the book of Judith, and there are that of this city understand David in Psalm cxx. and here the sepulchre of Job is yet to be seen, saith Breidenbach.

Now concerning the texts which he citeth, it is so, that the Greek hath Galaad instead of the word Cedar, which the Vulgar doth use in that place of Judith, and joineth Carmel and Galilee. The Canticles, and the 120th Psalm, do rather prove that Kedar was not hereabout, than any way help Adrichomius. For that they speak of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the Canticles that they were *decolores*, much more than any under the climates of the land of Canaan; whence Junius out of Lampridius and Pliny placeth them in Arabia Petræa, far from these parts. Touching the sepulchre of Job, it is certain that the Arabians and Saracens (holding those places) feign many things to abuse the Christians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many, if not all the historical circumstances of Job are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his country seek to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded upon him infer what his country was, and build unto him a city by conjecture.

Of Job himself, whether he were the same Jobab remembered in Genesis xxxvi. descended from Esau, and king also

of Idumæa, though[e] Rupertus, Lyranus, Oleaster, and Bellarmine are of another opinion, yet St. Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostome, and Gregory, with Athanasius, Hippolytus, Irenæus, Eusebius Emissenus, Apollinaris, Eustachius, and others, cited by St. Jerome in his 126th epistle to Evagrius, take him for the same.

The land of Huts, or Hus, wherein Job dwelt, is from the Greek [f]οὖς, which the Septuagint use for the word Huts, translated by the Vulgar sometimes Hus, as Job i. 1. sometimes Ausitis, as Jer. xxv. 20. This land is placed by Junius between Palestina and Cœlesyria, beside Chamatha, or Hamath, under Palmyrene in the country called by Ptolomy Trachonitis, or Bathanæa, the bounds of which countries are confounded with Basan in this half tribe of Manasseh. And that this land of Hus was thus seated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of Jeremiah xxv. 20. where he reckons the Hushites among the promiscuous borderers of the Israelites, whom he therefore calleth promiscuous, or *miscellaneam turbam*, because their bounds were not only joined, but confounded, and their seigniories mingled one with the other; but of this place the words of Jeremiah, Lam. iv. 21. speaking of the same prophecy, of which he speaketh in the five and twentieth chapter, must needs be expounded; as Junius reads them, distinguishing the land of Hus from Edom: *O filia Edomi, ô quæ habitas in terra Hutzi*; "O "daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the land of "Hus." Now because the Vulgar doth not so distinguish, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; "Daughter of Edom which dwelleth in the land of Hus:" hence, as it seems, some of the learned have thought that Job was an Edomite, as wē have said, and king of Edom; which if they understand by it Idumæa or Edom, so called in Moses's time, they are greatly mistaken, making this

[e] Rup. Lyran. Oleast. in Gen. Bell. in Com. lib. 1. de Verb. Dei S. Amb. sup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 4. Chrys. Hom. 2. De patientia Job. Greg. Com. in Job.

[f] For *ου* and *αυ* are often changed one into the other: whence thy used *Ausitis* for *Ousitis*, &c. Hence also by Junius and others it is called *Ausanitis*, and so as it seems they read it in the Septuagint. Jun. in Gen. x. 23.

land of Hus to be in Idumæa, Deut. iii. 9. For it is very probable that Esau, when he first parted from Jacob, did not seat himself in Edom, or Seir, which lieth on the south border of Judæa, but inhabited Seir far to the east of Jordan, and held a part of those mountains otherwise called Galaad and Hermon, which by corruption the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amorites Shenir for Seir, and from this his habitation did Esau encounter Jacob, when he returned out of Mesopotamia, who passed by the very border of Esau's abiding. It is true, that at such time as Moses wandered in the deserts, that the posterity of Esau inhabited Seir to the south of Judæa. For it is like that the Amorites, who had beaten both Ammon and Moab, did also drive the Edomites out of those parts, who thenceforward seated themselves to the south of Judæa, bordering the desert Paran, and stretched their habitations over the desert as far as Hor, where Aaron died.

Now for this Hus, which gave the name to a part of the land of Trachonitis, whether it were Hus the son of Aram, as Junius thinks in his note upon Gen. x. 23. or rather Hus the son of Nachor, Abraham's brother, the question is doubtful. For my part I rather incline to think that it was Hus the son of Nachor; partly because these families of Aram seem long before to have been lost, and partly because in Job xxxii. 2. Elihu, the fourth of Job's friends, which seems to be of Job's own country, is called a [5] Buzite, of Buz, the brother of Hus, the son of Nachor; as also Jer. xxv. in the same continuation (though some other nations named between) where Hus is spoken of, there Buz is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of Job xxxii. Elihu the Buzite is said to be of the family of Ram; (which Junius expounds to be as much as of the family of Aram;) for that by this Aram we are not to understand Aram the son of Sem, Junius himself maketh it plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he saith that one of Job's friends (which must needs be this

[5] Whence the Septuagint call him *ex regione Ausitide.*

Elihu) was of the posterity of Nachor, (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressly,) and inasmuch as he readeth not, *e familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *e familia Syra*; like as elsewhere Laban who sprung of Nachor is called a Syrian.

As for the [h] other three of Job's friends, (of whom by this note of Elihu's being of the Syrian family, or the family of Nachor,) it is implied that they were of other kindreds; as also by the Septuagint's addition, that this Elihu was of the land of Hus, or Ausitis, it is implied that they thought only Elihu to have been of Job's own country.

Franciscus Brochard the monk, in his description of the Holy Land in the journey from Acon eastward, findeth Suetha, and Theman on the east of the sea of Galilee, both very near to the land of Hus; whereof the one may seem to have denominated Bildad the Shuchite, the other Eliphaz the Themanite; two of the three friends of Job, of the which Job ii. 11. But Junius thinks that the Shuchites were inhabitants of Arabia the Desert, descended of Shuach the son of Abraham and Ketura; of whom Genesis xxv. 2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom Pliny calls Saccæi. So also he thinketh the Themanites, of whom Eliphaz was, to have been of Arabia the Desert; and Eliphaz himself to have been of the posterity of Theman the son of Eliphaz, which was the son of Esau. And so also Nahamah, whence Tsophar, the third of Job's friends, (which in this place of Job ii. 11. are mentioned,) is by the same learned expositor thought either to be named of Thimnah, by transposition of letters, (which Thimnah, Gen. xxxvi. 40. is named among the sons of Esau that gave denomination to the places where they were seated,) or else to be the same Nahamah which, Josh. xv. 41. is reckoned for a city of Juda, in the border, as he thinks, of Edom. And yet I deny not, but that near to the land of Hus in Basan, as it seems, in the tribe of Manasses, there is a region which at least in latter times was called Suitis, or of some like name. For this is evident by the history of [i] Gulielmus Tyrius, which reports of a fort in

[h] See Sixtus Senensis. [i] De Bell. Sacr. l. 22. c. 15. et 21.

this region of Suita, or Suites, (as he calls it diversely,) of exceeding great strength and use for the retaining of the whole country: which in the time of Baldwine, the second king of Jerusalem, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the Christians; having not long before been lost, to the great disadvantage of the country, while it was in the hands of the Saracens. The situation of this fort is by Tyrius described to be sixteen miles from the city Tiberias, on the east of Jordan, by Adrichomius, four miles northward from the place where Jordan enters the lake Tiberias at Corazim.

Other cities of this part of Manasses named in the scripture are these; Golan, Beheshthera, Mitspah of Gilead, and Kenath, which after the coming of the Israelites was called Nobach. Of Nobach, or Kenath, and Mitspah of [k] Gilehad, we have spoken by occasion among the cities of Gad; the two other were given to the Levites, and Golan made one of the cities of refuge; from which Golan we have both Gaulanitis Superior and Inferior, oft in Josephus. Beheshthera is accounted the chief city of Basan by some, but the writers corrupting the name into Bozra, it is confounded with Betser, or Bozra of Reuben, and with Bozra of Edom. Argob is oft named for a region in this tract, and hence Jerome hath Arga, a name of a city placed by some about the waters of Merom, (as they are called by Joshua,) which make the lake Samachonitis, as Josephus calls it. This lake being as it were in the midst between Cæsarea Philippi and Tiberias, through which, as through the lake of Tiberias, Jordan runneth, boundeth part of this half tribe on the west. When the snow of Libanus melteth, it is very large, saith Brochard; otherwise more contract, leaving the marish ground on both sides for lions and other wild beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adjoining to this lake, in this country of Manasses, Josephus names two places of strength fortified by himself in the beginning of the Jews' rebellion; Seleucia the one, and Sogane the other. In the north side of this half tribe of Manasseh, and in the north-east, the scripture nameth divers

[k] Josh. xxi. 27. Deut. iv. 43.

bordering places towards Damascus, as Tsedad Chauran and Chatsar-Henan, lying in a line drawn from the west; of which three cities we read Ezek. xlvii. 16. with which also agrees the place Numb. xxxiv. 8. where for Chauran, between Tsedad and Chatsar-Henan, Ziphron is named. From this Chauran is the name of Auranitis Regio, in Josephus and Tyrius, whose bounds (as also the bounds of Gessur and Mahachath, or Macati, which were likewise borderers to Manasses towards the north-east) are unknown; only that Gessur was of might, it appears in that David married [l]Mahaca the daughter of Tholmay king of Gessur; by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked and unfortunate Absalom.

CHAP. XI.

The history of the Syrians, the chief borderers of the Israelites, that dwelt on the east of Jordan.

SECT. I.

Of the city of Damascus, and the divers fortunes thereof.

DAMASCUS, of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the city of joy or gladness, and the house of pleasure; and is not only remembered in many places of scripture, but by the best historians and cosmographers. The Hebrews, saith [m]Josephus 1. 14. think it to have been built by Hus the son of Aram, of which opinion St. Jerome upon Isaiah xvii. seemeth to be; though in his Hebrew Questions he affirmeth, that it was founded by Damascus, the son of Eliezer, [n]Abraham's steward, a thing very unlikely, seeing the city was formerly known by that name, as appears by Abraham's calling this his steward Eliezer of Damasco. David was the first that subjected it to the kingdom of Juda, after the overthrow of Adadezer their king; but in Solomon's time Rezon recovered it again, though he had no title at all or right to that

[l] 1 Chron. iii. 2. [m] Joseph 1. 14. [n] Gen. xv. 2.

principality: but David having overthrown Hadadezer king of Sophena, (otherwise Syria, Soba, or Zobah,) Razon, or Rezon, with the remainder of that broken army, invaded [o] Damascena, and possessed Damascus itself, and became an enemy to Solomon all his life.

The next king of Damascus was Adad the Edomite, who flying into Egypt from [p] David and Joab, when they slew all the males in Edom, was there entertained, and married Taphnes the king of Egypt's wife's sister, of whom Taphnes in Egypt was so called. This Adad returning again became an enemy to Solomon all his life, and (as some writers affirm) invaded Damascus, and thrust Rezon thence out. In the line of Adad that kingdom continued nine descents, (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those kings of Syria,) to whom the Assyrians and then the Grecians succeeded. This city was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the rivers of [q] Abanah and Parphar; whereof one of those profane writers call Chrysorrhoas, the golden river. Junius takes it for Adonis. The country adjoining is very fruitful of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong castle built, as it seems, by the [r] Florentines after it became Christian; the lilies being found cut in many marbles in that citadel. Against this city the prophets [s] Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zacharias prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heap of stones. In the time of the last Rezon, and tenth king of the Damascenes, Teglatphalassar, invited by Achaz king of [t] Juda, carried away the naturals of Damascus into the east, leaving of his own nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the Babylonians, saith Jerome upon Isaiah xvii.; which thing was performed by Salmanasar, according to Junius in his note upon that place, five years after the prophecy. In time it was restored by the Macedonians and the Ptolomies; but long after, when Syria fell into the hands of the

[o] 1 Kings xi. 40.
[p] 1 Kings xi.
[q] 2 Kings v.
[r] Herold. 6. Bell. Sacr.
[s] i. iii. viii. x. and xvii. xlix. and ix.
[t] 2 Kings xvi.

Romans, it was taken by [u]Metellus and Lollius. In the time of the Christians it had an archbishop: St. Jerome living, as he affirmeth upon the Acts, it was the metropolis of the Saracens, being taken by Haomar their king from the Romans, in the year of our redemption 636. And in the year [x]1147, Conrad the third, emperor of Rome, Lewis king of France, Baldwin the third king of Jerusalem, Henry duke of Austria, brother to Conrad, [y]Frederick Barbarossa, afterwards emperor, Theodorick earl of Flanders, and other princes assembled at Ptolomais Acon, on the sea-coast, determined to recover Damascus; but being betrayed by the Syrians, they failed of the enterprise.

In the year 1262, Halon the Tartar encompassed it, and having formerly taken the king brought him under the walls, and threatened extreme torture unto him, except the citizens surrendered the place; but they refusing it, the [z]king was torn asunder before them, and in fine, the city taken, Agab the son of Halon was by his father made king thereof.

In the year [a]1400, Tamberlaine, emperor of the Parthians, invaded that region, and besieged the city with an army of 1,200,000, (if the number be not mistaken.) He entered it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners; those that retired into the castle, which seemed a place impregnable, he overtopped with another castle adjoining; he forbore the demolishing of the city in respect of the beauty of the church, garnished with forty gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000 lanterns of gold and silver; but while he invaded Egypt, they again surprised Damascus. Lastly, in his return, after three months siege, he forced it; the Mahometans, prostrating themselves with their priests, desired mercy; but Tamberlaine commanding them to enter the church, he burnt them and it, to the number of 30,000, and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses knew them not by the foundations. And as

[u] Joseph. Ant. 4.
[x] Onuphrius in Chron.
[y] Vitr. c. 46. Will. Tyr. Bell. Sac. l. 17. c. 1. 23. 4. 5.
[z] Herold. Bell. Sac. 4. c. 14.
[a] Herold. l. 6. c. 4.

a trophy of his victory, he raised three towers with great art, built with the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this it was restored and repossessed by the soldan of Egypt, with a garrison of Mammalukes. And in the year 1517, Selimus, emperor of the Turks, wrested it out of the hands of the Egyptians; in whose possession it now remaineth, inhabited with Mahometans and Christians of all neighbouring nations.

SECT. II.

Of the first kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power.

NOW be it that Damascus were founded by Hus the son of Aram, or by Damascus the son of Eliezer, Abraham's steward, we find no relation of their kings or commonwealth till David's time. For it stood without the bounds of Canaan, and therefore neglected by Moses, Joshua, and the Judges, as impertinent to that story; but were it so, that it had some *reguli*, or petty kings over it, as all the cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous, for ought that is left to writing, till such time as David overthrew Adadezer prince of Sophena, or Syria Zoba; the same nation which [b] Pliny calleth Nubæi, inhabiting between Batanea and Euphrates. Now the better to understand the story of those Syrian princes, whom soon after the kings of Damascus made their vassals, the reader may inform himself, that on the north-east parts of the Holy Land there were three chief principalities, whereof the kings or commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the state or commonwealth of [c] Israel, namely, Damascus or Aram, Sophena or Syria Zoba, and Chamath or Chamath Zoba, of which these were the princes in David's and Solomon's times: Razon, or Rezon, of Damascus, Adadezer of Syria Zoba, and Tohu of Chamath. But it seemeth that Damascus was one of the cities subject to Adadezer when David invaded him, though when Saul made war against Zoba Damascus was not named. And, as Josephus affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were

[b] Plin. l. 6. c. 28. [c] 1 Sam. xiv. 47.

levied and sent to Hadad-Hezar from Damascus, had the name of Adad, who was in that battle slain with [d] 22,000 Aramites of Damascus; whereof, as of the overthrow of Adadezer, Rezon, the commander of his army, taking advantage, made himself king of Damascus; Adadezer and [e] Adad of Damascus being both slain. About the same time Tohu, king of Chamath or Iturea, hearing that his neighbour and enemy Adadezer was utterly overthrown, sendeth for peace to David, and presented him with rich gifts, but *in dolo*, saith St. Jerome, it was craftily done of him. Now to the north of the Holy Land, and to the west of Damascus, the Tyrians and Zidonians inhabited; but they for the most part were in league and peace with the Judeans and Israelites. But to return to the kings of Syria; I mean of Syria as it is taken in the scriptures, containing Damascena, Soba or Zoba, and Chamath or Iturea, to which I may add Geshur, because it is so accounted in 2 Sam. xv. as joining in the territory to Damascus, (for Syria at large is far greater, of which Palestina itself is but a province, as I have noted in the beginning of this tract.) It is not agreed among the historians of former times, nor of our latter writers, who was the first of those Adads of Syria Zoba and Damascus.

Some account Rezon, other Adad of Idumæa; of whom it is written in the 1st of Kings, that David having invaded that region, and left Joab therein to destroy all the male children thereof, Adad, of the king's seed, fled into Egypt, and was there married to Taphnes the queen's sister, as before; who hearing of David's death, and of the death of his captain Joab, (whom indeed all the bordering nations feared,) he returned again, and, as Bunting thinketh, this Adad did expel Rezon out of Damascus, and was the first of the Syrian kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For, as I take it, [f] Adadezer the son of Rehob, whom Saul invaded, was the founder of that principality; and the first of Adads, who, forsaking his father's name as he grew powerful, took upon him the style of Adad, the great god of the Assyrians, saith

[d] 2 Sam. viii. [e] 1 Kings xi. [f] 2 Sam. viii. 3, 12. 1 Sam. xiv. 47.

Macrobius, which signifieth oneness or unity. I also find a city called Adada in the same part of Syria; of which whether these princes took the name or gave it, I am ignorant. For Adad-ezer, Ben-adad, Eli-adad were the same in name, with the differences of Ezer, Ben, and Eli adjoined. And that Adadezer was of greatest power, it appeareth, first, because it is against him that David undertook the war; secondly, because he levied 22,000 Aramites out of the territory of Damascus, as out of his proper dominions; for had the Damascenes had a king apart, it is probable that the scriptures would have given us his name; thirdly, because Syria Zoba, of the most of which Adadezer was king, was an exceeding large territory, and contained of Arabia the Desert as far as to Euphrates, according to [g] Pliny, and the greatest part of Arabia Petræa, according to Niger. Whosoever was the first, whether Adadezer or Adad of Idumæa, Rezon was the second; [h] *who was an enemy to Israel all the days of Solomon.* Besides, the evil that Adad did seemeth to be referred to Hadad of Idumæa, lately returned out of Egypt, to wit, twenty-three years after he was carried thither.

The third king of Damascus, and of Zobah both, was Hezion; to Hezion succeeded Tabrimmon, or Tabremmon; to him Benhadad, as is proved in 1 Kings xv. 18. For Asa king of Juda, the son of Abiam, the son of Roboam, the son of Solomon, being vexed and invaded by Baasha, the successor of Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, sent to Benhadad, the son of Tabrimmon, the son of Hezion king of Aram, that dwelt at Damascus, to invade Israel, (while Baasha sought to fortify Rama against Asa; thereby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the territories of Israel,) who, according to the desire of Asa, having received his presents, willingly invaded the country of Nephtalim, and took divers cities and spoils thence; [i] Asa in the mean while carrying away all the materials which Baasha had brought to fortify Rama withal, and converted them to his own use.

[g] Plin. l. 6. c. 18. [h] 1 Kings xi. [i] 1 Kings xv. 18.

This Benhadad's father Tabremmon was in league with Asa, and so was his father Hezion; for Asa requireth the continuance of that friendship from Benhadad his son; though it seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the temple was the most forcible argument. And that this Tabremmon invaded Israel, before the enterprise of his son Benhadad, it is conjectured. For Benhadad, when he was prisoner with Achab, spake as followeth: [k] *The cities, which my father took from thy father, I will restore; and thou shalt make streets or keepers of the borders for thee in Damascus, as my father did in Samaria.* And herein there ariseth a great doubt, (if the argument itself were of much importance,) because Tabremmon was father indeed to Benhadad which invaded Baasha, at the request of Asa. But this Benhadad, that twice entered upon [l] Achab, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the son of Benhadad, the first of that name, the confederate of Asa and Abiam, as before, than the son of Tabremmon. For between the invasion of Benhadad the first in Baasha's time, and the siege of Samaria, and the overthrow of Benhadad by Achab, there passed forty-nine years, as may be gathered out of the reigns of the kings of Israel. So that if we allow thirty years of age to Benhadad when he invaded Baasha, and after that forty-nine years ere he was taken by Achab, which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely that Benhadad, at such an age, would make war. Besides all this, the first Benhadad came with no such pomp, but the second Benhadad vaunteth that he was followed with thirty-two kings; and therefore I resolve, that Benhadad the son of Tabremmon, invaded Baasha and Omri, and Benhadad the second invaded Achab, at whose hands this Benhadad received two notorious overthrows; the first at Samaria, by a sally of 700 Israelites; the second at Aphec, where with the like number in effect the Israelites slaughtered 100,000 of the [m] Aramites, besides 27,000 which were crushed by the fall of the wall of Aphec. And this Benhadad Achab again setteth at liberty, to whom he rendereth those towns that

[k] 1 Kings xx. 34. [l] 1 Kings xv. [m] 1 Kings xx.

his father had taken from the predecessor of Achab; but being returned, he refused to render Ramoth-Gilead, a frontier town, and of great importance. Now three years after, (for so long the league lasted,) [n] Ramoth not being delivered, Achab invadeth Gilead, and besiegeth the city, being assisted by Jehosaphat. The Aramites came to succour and fight, in which Achab is wounded, and dieth that night. After this, Benhadad sendeth the commander of his forces, called [o] Naaman, to Joram the son of Achab, to be healed of the leprosy; and though Elizeus had healed him, yet he picketh quarrel against Joram; and when Joram by Elizeus's intelligence had escaped his plot, he sent men and chariots to take the prophet, as is aforesaid. After [p] Benhadad besiegeth Samaria again; and being terrified thence from [q] heaven, he departeth home, and sickeneth, and sendeth Azael with great gifts to Elizeus, to know his estate, if he might live. Azael returning smothereth him. Zonaras and Cedrenus call this Benhadad, Adar, the son of Adar: [r] Amos and Jeremiah mention the towers of Benhadad. Josephus writeth, that Benhadad and his successor Azael, were worshipped for gods, by the Syrians to his time, for the sumptuous temples which they built in [s] Damascus. The Syrians also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 1100 years are complete, since their wars with the Israelites.

Hazael, or Azael, the first king of the race of the Adads of Damascus, was anointed by Elisha, or Elizeus, when he was sent by Benhadad to the prophet, to know whether Benhadad should recover his present sickness. He waged war with Joram, who received divers wounds at the encounter at Ramoth in Gilead; from whence returning to be cured at Jesrael, he and the king of Juda, Ahaziah, or Ochozias, are slain by Jehu, as before is said. After the death of Joram, Azael continued the war against Jehu, and wasted Gilead, and all those portions of [t] Gad, Reuben, and

[n] 1 Kings xxii.
[o] 2 Kings v. 2 Kings vi.
[p] 2 Kings vi.
[q] 2 Kings vii.
[r] Amos i. Jer. xlix.
[s] Ant. l. 8. c. 8.
[t] 2 Kings xii. 17.

Manasseh, over Jordan. He then invadeth Judah, and took Gath; but by gifts from Joas he was averted from attempting Jerusalem: for he presented him all the [u] *hallowed things which Jehosaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Juda had dedicated, and which he himself had dedicated; and all the gold which was found in the treasuries of the Lord, and in the king's house.* This was the second time that the temple was spoiled to please the Adads of Damascus: for [x] Asa did present Benhadad with those treasures when he invited him to war upon Baaṣha, king of Israel. And notwithstanding this composition between Joas and Azael, yet a part of his army spoiled the other provinces of Judæa, and slaughtered many principal persons. Lastly, [y] Azael vexed Joahas the son of Jehu, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen of all his people.

SECT. III.

Of the latter kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

AFTER Hazael, Benhadad the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of Hazael, reigned in Damascus, who fought against Israel with ill success: for [z] Joas, king of Israel, the son of the unhappy Joachaz, as he was foretold by [a] Elisha the prophet, beat Benhadad in three several battles; and he lost all those cities to Israel, which his father Hazael had taken violently from Joachaz.

After this Benhadad, the son of Hazael, there succeeded three others of the same name, of whom the stories are lost; only Nicholaus Damascenus, cited by [b] Josephus, makes mention of them: and in one of these king's times it was, that Jeroboam the second, the son of [c] Joas, recovered Damascus itself to Juda, saith the Geneva; but better in Junius, *utque recuperabat Damascum, et Chamatham Judæ, pro Israele;* that is, "and how he recovered for Is-"rael, Damascus, and Chamatha of Judæa;" for these cities,

[u] 2 Kings xii.
[x] 1 Kings xv.
[y] 2 Kings xiii. 7.
[z] 2 Kings xiii.
[a] Joseph. Ant. c. 9.
[b] Joseph. Ant. l. 7. c. 6.
[c] 2 Kings xiv. 28.

sometimes conquered by David, did of right belong to the tribe of Juda.

And it is likely that this conquest upon the Adads was performed; the first of these three Adads then living, of whom there is no story. For when as Jehoas, the king of the ten tribes, had thrice overcome the Syrians in the time of Benhadad, the son of Hazael, and had recovered the cities which Hazael had won from Israel, and so left his kingdom to his son Jeroboam the second; it seemeth, that this Jeroboam without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprise, instantly followed his father's good fortune, and invaded Damascus.

Razin, or Rezin, after Josephus Rases, after Zonaras Raason, the tenth Adad, maketh league with Pekah, or Phacas, king of Israel, against Achaz, king of Juda; both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege Achaz in Jerusalem, but in vain. Then [d] Adad alone invadeth Elath; and beating out the Jews, maketh it a colony of Syrians. Wherefore Achaz brought [e] Teglatphalassar against Razin, who took him and beheaded him, and won Damascus; with whom ended the line of the Adads and the kingdom of Damascus; the Assyrians becoming masters both of that and Israel. These Adads, as they reigned in order, are thus reckoned:

1. Adadezer the son of Rehob.
2. Rezin the son of Eliadad, or Razin.
3. Hezion.
4. Tabremmon.
5. Benhadad, who invaded Baasha.
6. Benhadad the second, taken prisoner by Achab.
7. Hazael, whom Elisha foretold with tears of his advancement; the same who overthrew Joram, king of Israel, at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a second Hazael, which preceded Benhadad the third, it is not improbable, because that Hazael which took Geth, and compounded the war with Joas, made the expedition thirty years, and perchance more, after the first Hazael, which stifled his master

[d] 2 Kings xvi. 5. [e] Isaiah vii. Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 12.

Benhadad, and had slain Joram the son of Achab, king of Israel. For Joas began to reign in the seventh year of Jehu, king of Israel; and after he had reigned twenty-three years, the temple was not yet repaired; after which (and how long we know not) it is said, that Hazael took Geth, and turned his face towards Jerusalem. It is also some proof that Hazael, which took Geth, was not the same with Hazael that murdered Benhadad, because he could not at that time but be of good years, being, as it seemeth, the second person in the kingdom, and commander of Benhadad's men of war. To this Hazael, be he the first or second, succeeded,

8. Benhadad the third, whom Joash, king of Israel, thrice overthrew.

9. Resin, or Rezin the last, who joined with Pekah, king of Israel, against Juda, at which time Achaz, king of Juda, waged for his defence Teglatphalassar.

Now between Benhadad the third, and Rezin the last, Nicholaus Damascenus finds three other kings of the Adads, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the princes of Syria, which were but *reguli*, as those of [f] Emath and Gessur, we find that Tohu was king of Emath, or Chamath, in David's time, to whom he sent his son Joram with presents, after David's victory against Adadezer. Also [g] Sennacherib speaketh of a king of Emath, but names him not.

SECT. IV.

Of other lesser kingdoms of the Syrians, which, being brought under the Assyrians, never recovered themselves again.

OF Gessur we find two kings named, to wit, Talmai, and his father Ammihur. To Talmai, whose daughter David married, it was that Absalom fled, who was his maternal grandfather. Of the kings of Sophena or Syria, Soba or Cœlesyria, there are two named, Rehob, or Rochob, the father of Adadezer, and Adadezer himself; and it is plain, that after his death the seat of the kings of Soba was

[f] 2 Sam. viii. 9. [g] Isaiah xxxvii.

transferred to Damascus, a city better fitting their greatness. After, Rezin became lord of both principalities: and the race of these kings of Syria, (which became so potent, and joined Soba, Damascus, Emath, and the desert of Arabia, with other provinces, into one, under Rezin the second of the Adads,) as it began with David, so it ended at once with the kingdom of Israel. For Ahaz, king of Juda, waged the Assyrian Teglatphalassar against Pekah, king of Israel, and against Rezin, the last king of Damascus; which Teglath first invaded Damascena, and the region of Soba, and took Damascus itself; and did put to death Rezin the last, carrying the inhabitants captive. This was the second time that the Assyrians attempted Israel: for first Phul Belochus entered the borders thereof, (Menahem governing Israel,) who stopped the enterprise of Phul with a thousand talents of silver; for this Phul Belochus, whose pedigree we will examine hereafter, being scarce warm as yet in his seat at Babylon, which he, with the help of his companion Arbaces, had wrested from Sardanapalus, having besides this king of Syria in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the king of Israel, for that present time. But his son Teglath, following the purpose of his father Belochus, and finding so excellent an occasion as the war begun between Israel and Juda, Pekah commanding in the one, and Achaz in the other, his neighbour Rezin being also wrapt in that war, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of Achaz king of Juda, his imprest and entertainment. So first attempting Damascus, which lay in his path towards Israel, he carried it, (as is before remembered,) and then with great ease possessed himself of the cities of Nephthalim, leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his son Salmanassar, whom Ptolomy calleth Nabonassar, after the revolt of Hosea, forced Samaria, and rent that kingdom asunder. So as the line and race of Ninus in Sardanapalus, whom Belochus supplanted; the race and monarchy of the Syrian Adads in Rezin, ughtered; the kingdom of Israel in Ho-

sea, whom Salmanassar overturned, happened near about a time; that of Ninus in the days of Belochus, and the other two in the days of Teglatphalassar and Salmanassar his son. For Sardanapalus perished, Osia ruling Juda; and the other two kingdoms were dissolved, Achaz yet living.

Lastly, The kingdom of Juda itself being attempted by Sennacherib, the son of Salmanassar, in vain, and preserved for the time by God miraculously, was at length utterly overturned: Jerusalem and the temple burnt, an hundred and thirty-two years after the captivity of Israel and Samaria; the destruction of Israel being in the ninth year of Hosea; that of Juda in the eleventh of Zedekiah. Now the emperors of Assyria and Babylon held also the kingdom of Syria, from the eighth year of Salmanassar to the last of Baltassar, whom Herodotus calleth Labynitus; in all about two hundred years. After these the Persians, from Cyrus to Darius their last king, held Syria about two hundred years.

Then Alexander Macedon took this among other provinces of the Persian empire; and his successors the Seleucidæ reigned therein, till it became subject unto the power of the Romans, from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in possession of the Turk, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering upon the Israelites, with whom they had most to do, both in war and peace, being the only people whose history in those ancient times carried an assured face of truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the tribe of Benjamin, and of Jerusalem.

SECT. I.

Of divers memorable places in the tribe of Benjamin, whereof Jericho, Gilgal, Mitspah, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, and Gibha.

OF the tribe of Benjamin, the twelfth and youngest son of Jacob, whom he had by Rachel, there were mustered at

mount Sinai 35,000 able bodies; all which perishing in the deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their issues 45,600 fit to bear arms; and these had their territory on this side Jordan, between Juda and Ephraim. The cities within this tribe, nearest Jordan, are Lod, Hadid, and Ono; of which Lod and Ono were built by Shemed, a Benjamite, 1 Chron. viii. 12.; they were all three reinhabited with Benjamites after the return out of captivity, as is mentioned, Nehem. xi. 35. and Esdras ii. 35. where Adrichomius reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes besides Hadid in Nehemiah, a city called Lodhadid. This Hadid, or Chadid, was rebuilt by Simon Maccabæus, 1 Mac. xii. 38.

Samarim, or Tsemaraim, named of Tsemary, one of the sons of Canaan, was another of their cities; and further into the land standeth Jericho, one of the toparchies, and the last of Juda; seated in a most fruitful valley, adorned with many palm trees, and therefore elsewhere called the city of Palms, 2 Chron. xxviii. 15. From the time of [h] Joshua, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste until the time of Achab; in whose days Chiel of Bethel laid the new foundation of it in the loss of Abiram his eldest son, and built the gates of it in the loss of his youngest son Segub, according to the curse of Joshua, in which, and other respects, Hosea xii. 14. calleth Joshua a prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by Vespasian, and rebuilt by Adrian.

To the south-east of Jericho stood [i] Halmon of the Levites, of which Josh. xxi. 18. to the south, Bethabara, of which Josh. xv. and xviii.; then that Gilgal, of which there is so much mention in the scripture, where Joshua first eat of the fruits of the land, circumcised all those born in the deserts, and celebrated the passover.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the etymology of this name, (for it seems by the place, Deut. xi. 30. that the name was known before the coming of the Israelites into Canaan,) is noted Josh. v. 9.

h [illegible] 30. This Halmon [illegible] they make a new city Almath, as if this tribe had given five cities to the Levites.

Ob devolutionem probri Ægyptiaci, because their foreskins (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled down the hill; which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This Gilgal was also called Geliloth, as appears by comparing the places, Josh. xv. 7. and xviii. 17: for it was in the borders of Jordan, of which Josh. xxii. 13; and Geliloth signifieth borders. It stood (though in some distance) directly eastward, over against the two hills Garizim and Hebal, Deut. xi. 29; upon the one of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountains of Ephraim. Further, for the situation of this Gilgal, it is to be noted, that both it and Mitspah of Benjamin (of which also we read oft in the scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the land of Canaan; for which reason [k] Samuel chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgment to the Israelites; of which two, Gilgal (as is said) was near Jordan on the east side of this tribe, and Mitspah near the west sea, towards the land of the Philistines.

The third place which is named with these two, whither also Samuel used yearly to come, is [l] Bethel; which also was seated in this tribe of Benjamin. But to return to Gilgal, which was the first place where the ark resided after they passed over Jordan, (from whence it was carried to Silo, and thence to Kirjath-jeharim, and at length to Jerusalem;) here in Gilgal it was that Joshua pitched up the twelve stones which were taken out of the channel of Jordan when it was dry, that the Israelites might pass over it; by which story, as it is set down Josh. iv., it appears, that the same day that they passed over Jordan they lodged at Gilgal. At the same Gilgal, to omit many other memorable

[k] 1 Sam. vii. 15.

[l] Junius, in this place, for Bethel reads *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it Kirjath-jeharim, where the ark abode: for, saith he, by the law, Exod. xxiii. 17, the greatest meetings in their annual feasts were to be where the ark was; but this place doth not speak of festival, but of judicial meetings; and besides, the priests did use to bring the ark to their great meetings, wheresoever they were, as appears 1 Sam. xii. 11. and ch. xiv. 18; neither is it easy to expound Bethel, otherwise than for the city Bethel, though Junius also takes it for the place where the ark was, 1 Sam. x. 3.

things, it was that Samuel hewed Agag the king of the Amalekites in pieces. And as for Mitspah, whither also Samuel came yearly to give judgment, there also were often the greatest meetings held; as that for the revenge of the Levite's wife against Gibha and the Benjamites, Judg. xxi. 1; and another against the Philistines, 1 Sam. vii. 12. Thither also Judas Maccabæus gathered the Jews, (when Jerusalem was possessed by the heathen,) as it is 1 Macc. iii. 47; in which place this reason of their meeting is added, *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitspæ antea Israeli.* Touching this Mitspah, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembered that the scriptures mention four places of this name; Mitspah of Juda, of which Josh. xv. 38; [m] Mitspah of Gilead, of which we have spoken already in the tribe of Gad; Mitspah of the Moabites, where David for a while held himself, commending his parents to the king of Moab, 1 Sam. xxii. 3; and lastly, this chief Mitspah of the Benjamites. And as in this place the chief meetings were held, both before Jerusalem was recovered from the Jebusites, and also in the time of the Maccabees, as we have said, when Jerusalem was held by the wicked under Antiochus; so also in the time of Jeremy, after the destruction of the temple by the Chaldees, Gedaliah, whom Nabuchodonosor left in Jewry, as governor over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place until (to the great hurt of the Jews) he was slain by the treason of Ishmael, one of the royal blood of Juda, as it is Jeremiah xli.

Near unto this Mitspah the scripture mentioneth Bethcar, 1 Sam. vii. 11, after called Aben-Hezer, that is, the stone of help; where Samuel pitched up the pillar or stone for a trophy against the Philistines.

Touching Bethel, which, as it seems, was the third place where Samuel held his chief meetings for the ministering of justice, that it was anciently called Luz; and how it was

[m] It was no other than this Mitspah of Gilead, of which Josh. xi. 8, as appears by that which is added, *versus orientem*: for Joshua notes the three quarters, north, west, and east, to which he followed the Canaanites; though Adrichomius and others, out of this place, imagine a Mitspah, or Mispha, (as they write it,) in the tribe of Asher.

taken by the issue of Joseph, (though it belonged to the portion of Benjamin, as it is Nehemiah xi. 31. and Joshua xviii. 22;) and how another city called Luz, Josh. xvi. 2, near adjoining to it, was built by the man of the city which shewed the entrance to the spies, as it is Judges i.; and of the occasion of the name from Jacob's vision; and how Jeroboam, by erecting one of his calves here, of Bethel (which signifieth the house of God) made it [n] Beth-aven, that is, the house of vanity, Hosea iv. 15. and x. 5; as also other memorable things of this place; they are so well known, out of the histories of the scripture, that we may well pass them over.

The territory of Bethel, which at the first belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes, from the time of the great victory of Abia against Jeroboam, (of which 2 Chron. xiii.) was taken from them, and adjoined to the kingdom of Juda; and so it continued, as appears by the story of Josiah, which performed the prophecies against the altar of Bethel, 2 Kings xxiii. whence those coasts, 1 Macc. xi. 34. are called Aphærema, which Greek word signifieth as much as, "a thing taken away," to wit, from the ten tribes. It was one of the three seigniories, or prefectures, which Demetrius in his epistle mentioneth as added by him to the dition of the Jews, out of the Samaritan country. A part of it, as appears 2 Chron. xiii. 19, was Hephravin, which, Josh. xviii. 23, is called Hophram, belonging to this tribe of Benjamin.

Not far from this Bethel, in this tribe, we find three other cities often mentioned in the scriptures, Rama, Gibha, and Gebah. Of the name Rama, [o] it is noted already in the description of Ephraim, that there were many towns so called, because of their high situation; but whereas they find out Rama in the tribe of Juda, (as it seems, because Matthew ii. it appears that it bordered Bethlehem,) and also out of Brochard and Breidenbach, make Silo to have been

[n] Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the kingdoms of Juda and Israel, between Hai and Bethel, Josh. vii. 2. and xviii. 12.

[o] See c. 9. sect. 1.

called Rama, and find yet another Rama in Zabulon; these three have no warrant in the scripture. Of Rama, in the tribe of Asser, as it seems, we have testimony, Josh. xix. 29; and of another in Nephthalim, Josh. xix. 36; of a third Rama, where Samuel dwelt in mount Ephraim, 1 Sam. xxv. 1, which more often is called [p] Ramatha, and 1 Sam. i. 1. Ramathaim Tsophim; for which the Septuagint have Aramathaim-sophim, taking the article affixed in the beginning for a part of the word, whence they think Joseph of Arimathea, Matth. xxvii. 57, was denominated.

Of a fourth Rama, we read 2 Kings viii. 29. which is Ramoth in Gilead. The first, which is most often mentioned, is Rama of Benjamin, seated, as we said, near Bethel, the uttermost south border of the kingdom of the ten tribes; for which cause Baasha, in the time of Asa, king of Juda, fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from him to Asa. Of this Rama, or Ramatha, I should rather think Joseph was that buried Christ, because it was nearer to Jerusalem, and after the captivity belonged to Judæa, as it appears Esd. ii. 26; wherein that it is joined with Gebah, it is plain that he speaketh of that Rama, with whose stones (after Baasha had ceased to build it) Asa (as it is 1 Kings xxv. 22.) built Gebah adjoining to it, both being in Benjamin. And as Rama was the south border of the ten tribes, so was Gebah the north border of the kingdom of Juda; whence, 2 Kings xxiii. 8. we read, that Josiah, through all his kingdom, even from Gebah, which was the north border, to Beersheba, which was the south border, destroyed the places of idolatry.

The third city Gibha, which was the city of Saul, (the wickedness of which city, in the time of the judges, had almost utterly rooted out this tribe,) Adrichomius confounds with Gebah, making one of two; (as they are evi-

[p] Of this Ramatha, I understand the place 1 Macc. xi. 34. where it is named for one of the three prefectures which Demetrius yields to the Jews out of the country of Samaria; this lying toward the east to Jericho, [q] the west, and Aphærema (of which even now we spake) lying in the midst, between the two other. A sixth Rama it seems there was in the tribe of Simeon toward the south, which Josh. xix. 7, 8. is called Ramah of the south, and otherwise Bahalath-beer.

dently distinguished, Isaiah x. 27.) of which word [q] Gibha, in another form Gibbath, he imagineth Gabaath, another city in this tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this city also to Rama of Benjamin, appears, Judg. xix. 13, where the Levite with his wife, not able to reach to Rama, took up his lodging at Gibha. By that place of 1 Sam. xxii. 6. it seems that there was in this Gibha some tower or citadel, called Rama, where Junius reads *in excelso*, for *in Rama;* but it may be, that the name of the king's palace in this city was Rama, as it seems that in Rama of Samuel, the name of the chief place where Samuel with the college of prophets abode, was Naioth. The great city of Hai, overthrown by Joshua, which, Josh. vii. 2, is placed near Beth-aven, upon the east of Bethel, was in this tribe, as is proved Nehemiah vii. x. xxx. though it be not named by Joshua xviii. for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is Josh. viii. 28. *in solitudinem in tumulum perpetuum.* Another city of chief note, reckoned, Josh. xviii. 25. in this tribe, was Gibhon, the chief city of the Hevites, whose cunning, to bind the Israelites by oath to save their lives, is set down, Josh. ix. whence they were reckoned among the [r] Nethinæi, or proselytes, and were bound to certain public services in the house of God; which oath of saving these Gibeonites, broken in part after by Saul, was by God punished by a famine, 2 Sam. xxi. 1. This Gibeon, or Gibhon, with Almon and Jebah, (of both which we have spoken,) and with Hanothoth, the natal place of Jeremiah the prophet, were said, Josh. xxi. 28, to be given to the Levites by the Benjamites. Near to this Hanothoth was Nob, as appears 1 Kings ii. 26, where Ebiathar the priest, which was of Nob before it was

[q] Gibha in construction, that is, governing a genitive case, is Gibhath, whence the Vulgar out of the Septuagint read, Josh. xxiv. 33. Gabaath Phinees; for which Junius hath *collis Phineasi*, (for this word is ofttimes an appellative, signifying a hill,) but Adrichomius, taking notice of this, builds his city Gabaath upon this text, and placeth it in Benjamin, when as the words adjoined note that this hill was in the mountains of Ephraim.

[r] The word Nethinim, or Nethinæi, is as much as *dati*, (as it were *a Deo dati*,) or, as Junius expounds it, *dedititii;* it is used 1 Chron. ix. 2. and in Esdras and Nehemias often.

destroyed by Saul, is sent to his grounds at Hanothoth. It is reckoned in the tribe of Benjamin, Nehemiah ix. 31; and though in the time of Saul the residing place of the ark was at Kirjath-jearim, yet, by the lamentable tragedy of bloodshed which Saul raised in this place, (as it is set down 1 Sam. xxi. and xxii.) in the judgment of Junius it is proved that the tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this tribe, Nehemiah ix. 31, was a place of fame, of which Isaiah x. 28, where also he nameth Gallim and Migrom in this tribe. In Micmas Saul had his camp, 1 Sam. xiii. 2, (when he left Gibha to Jonathan,) and there also was Jonathan Maccabæus's abode, 1 Macc. ix. 73. Of Giscala in Galilee Josephus makes often mention; but of any here in Benjamin, which they make the natal place of St. Paul, whence, they say, when it was taken by the Romans, he sailed with his parents to Tharsis, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of less importance I omit, and come to the city of Jerusalem, and the princes and governors of this city; a great part whereof was in the tribe of Benjamin, whence, Josh. xviii. 28, it is named among the cities of Benjamin.

SECT. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Jerusalem.

AT what time Jerusalem was built (which afterwards became the princess of all cities) it doth not appear. Some there are who imagine that Melchisedec was the founder thereof in Abraham's time. But [s] according to others, that city, out of which Melchisedec encountered Abraham, (in his return from the overthrow of the Assyrian and Persian kings or captains, when Lot was made prisoner,) standeth by the river of Jordan, in the half tribe of Manasseh, bordering Zabulon, which was also called Salem, and by the Greeks Solima.

Jerusalem (whensoever or by whomsoever built) was a principal city in Joshua's time; yet not so renowned as Hazor, the metropolis (in those days and before) of all the Canaanites.

[s] See in the hither half of Manasseh.

Adonizedek, whom Joshua slew, was then king of Jerusalem. That it was belonging to the Jebusites it is manifest; for how long soever they held it before Moses's time, they were masters and lords thereof almost four hundred years after him, even till David won it; and therefore in all likelihood it was by the Jebusæi (the children of Jebusæus, the son of Canaan) built; after whom it was called [t] Jebus. And so much did that nation rely on the strength of the place, as when David attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blind, and impotent people should defend it.

David, after he had, by God's assistance, possessed it, and turned out the Jebusites, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit; strengthened it with a citadel or castle, and beautified it with many palaces and other buildings, changing the name from Jebussalem, the city of the Jebusites, to Jerusalem, which the Greeks call Hierosolyma. After David's time [u] Solomon amplified, beautified, and strengthened it exceedingly: for besides the work of the temple, which was no less admirable than renowned among all nations, the palaces, gates, and walls could not any where in the world be exampled; and besides that, it had an hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had sixty foot of depth, cut out of the very rock, and two hundred and fifty foot of breadth, whereof the like hath seldom been heard of, either since or before.

After the death of Solomon, and that the kingdom of the Jews was cut asunder, [x] Shishac king of Egypt, and his predecessor, having bred up for that purpose Adad the Idumean, and Jeroboam, Solomon's servant, and both married to Egyptians, the state by the one disturbed, by the other broken, [y] Shishac first invaded the territory of Juda, entered Jerusalem and sacked it; and became master, not only of the riches of Solomon, but of all those spoils which David had gotten from Adadezer, Tohu, the Ammonites,

[t] 2 Sam. v. 6.
[u] Jos. cont. App. l. 1. Strabo, Geog. l. 16.
[x] 2 Chron. xii.
[y] 2 Kings xiv.

and other nations. It was again sacked, and a part of the wall thrown down by Joas king of Israel, while [z] Amaziah the twelfth king thereof governed Juda.

Not long after, Achaz, the fifteenth king of Juda, impoverished the temple, and presented Teglatphalassar with the treasures thereof: and [a] Manasseh, the son of Ezekiah, the son of Achaz, by the vaunts made by Ezekiah to the ambassadors of Merodach, lost the remain and the very bottom of their treasures. It was again spoiled by the Babylonians, Joakim then reigning. But this ungrateful, idolatrous, and rebellious nation, taking no warning by these God's gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kind of impiety, filling the city even to the mouth with innocent blood, God raised up that great [b] Babylonian king, Nabuchodonosor, as his scourge and revenger, who making this glorious city and temple, with all the palaces therein, and the walls and towers which embraced them, even and level with the dust, carried away the spoils with the princes and people, and crushed them with the heavy yoke of bondage and servitude full seventy years; insomuch, as Zion was not only become as a torn and ploughed-up field, Jerusalem a heap of stone and rubble, the mountain of the temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briers; but (as [c] Jerome speaketh) even the birds of the air scorned to fly over it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soil.

Then seventy years being expired, according to the prophecy of [d] Daniel, and the Jews, by the grace of Cyrus, returned, the temple was again built, though with interruption and difficulty enough, and the city meanly inhabited, and without walls or other defences, for some sixty and odd years, till [e] Nehemiah, by the favour of Artaxerxes, rebuilt them. Then again was the temple and city spoiled by Bagoses, or Vagoses, lieutenant of Artaxerxes; after, by [f] Pto-

[z] 2 Kings xiv.
[a] 1 Chron. v. 16. 2 Kings xxv.
[b] 2 Kings xix. 2 Par. xviii.
[c] Mich. 3. Hier. 25. 26. 29.
[d] Hier. to 3. trad. Heb.
[e] Nehem. xii. 34, &c.

[f] The first of the Egyptian kings after Alexander Macedon, who, dissembling his religion, came up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice. Joseph. 12. Ant. 1.

lomæus I.; then by Antiochus Epiphanes; and again by Apollonius his lieutenant. By Pompey it was taken long after, but not destroyed nor robbed; though Crassus, in his Parthian expedition, took as much as he could of that which Pompey spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the industry or bounty of good princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the land, through the exhortation of godly kings, made many and large offerings to repair the temple of Solomon. The wrong done by Ptolomæus Lagi to the second temple, was requited by the bounty of his son Ptolomæus Philadelphus. The mischief wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes and his followers was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to Jerusalem out of other nations. Finally, all the losses, which either the city or temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in the reign of [g] Herod, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent king, who amplified the city, new built the temple, and with many sumptuous works did so adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious than they had been in the days of Solomon.

SECT. III.

Of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate it was at the coming of our Saviour Christ Jesus; and after his death and ascension it so continued about forty years: but then did Titus the Roman, being stirred up by God to be the revenger of Christ's death, and to punish the Jews' sinful ingratitude, encompass it with the Roman army, and became lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the Jews, from all parts, were come up to the celebration of the passover; so as the city was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts, and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An

[g] M. T. C. pro Scylla.

extreme famine, with the civil dissension, oppressed them within the walls; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The Idumeans also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the Jews' kingdom, thrust themselves into the city of purpose to betray it; who also burnt the temple when Nabuchodonosor took it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victory, [h]eleven hundred thousand souls; and the city was so beaten down and demolished, as those which came afterwards to see the desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any such place or habitation: only the three Herodian towers (works most magnificent, and overtopping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the Roman garrisons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and state remaining, after-ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining that there-over became victorious.

After this, such Jews as were scattered here and there in Judæa, and other provinces, began again to inhabit some part of the city; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the Roman state; but after sixty-five years, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, Ælius Adrianus, the emperor, slaughtered many thousands of them, and overturned those three Herodian towers, with all the rest, making it good which Christ himself had foretold, *That there should not stand one stone upon another* of that ungrateful city. Afterwards, when his fury was appeased, and the prophecy accomplished, he took one part without the wall, wherein stood mount Calvary and the sepulchre of Christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a city of great capacity, and called it after his own name, Ælia Capitolia. In the gate toward Bethel, he caused a sow to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which he did in despite of the Jews' nation; making an

[h] Esd. 1. c. 4. 45.

edict, that they should not from thenceforth ever enter into the city, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place overtopping it.

But the Christian religion flourishing in [i] Palæstina, it was inhabited at length by all nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued five hundred years.

It was afterwards, in the 636th year after Christ, taken by the [k] Egyptian Saracens, who held it 400 and odd years.

In the year 1099 it was regained by Godfrey of Bouillon, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the Saracens, which [l] Godfrey, when he was elected king thereof, refused to be crowned with a crown of gold, because Christ, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the successors of Godfrey eighty-eight years; till in the year 1197 it was regained by Saladine of Egypt: and lastly, in the year 1517, in the time of Selim, the Turks cast out the Egyptians, who now hold it, and call it Cuzumobarec, or the holy city. Neither was it Jerusalem alone that hath so oftentimes been beaten down and made desolate, but all the great cities of the world have with their inhabitants, in several times and ages, suffered the same shipwreck. And it hath been God's just will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not only to punish the impiety of men by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slavery; but he hath revenged himself of the very places they possessed, of the walls and buildings; yea, of the soil, and the beasts that fed thereon.

For even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all her fertility and fruitfulness; witness the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the days of the kings of Juda and Israel; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barren. It also pleased God, not only to consume with fire from heaven the cities of the Sodomites; but the very soil itself hath felt, and doth feel, the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts

[i] Gul. Tyr. Bell. Sac. l. 14. c. 12.
[k] Onuph. Chron.
[l] Gul. Tyr. l. 8. c. 5. 18, 19, &c.

that belonged to Amalek, no not any small number of them, to be sacrificed to himself; neither was it enough that Achan himself was stoned, but that his moveables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

SECT. IV.

Of the vain and malicious reports of heathen writers touching the ancient Jews.

OF the original of the Jews, profane writers have conceived diversely and injuriously. Quintilian speaks infamously of them, and of their leader; who, saith he, gathered together a pernicious nation. Diodore and Strabo make them Egyptians. Others affirm, that while Isis governed Egypt, the people were so increased, as Jerosolymus and Judas led thence a great multitude of that nation, with whom they planted the neighbour regions; which might be meant by Moses and Aaron: for the name of Moses was accidental, because he was taken up and saved out of the waters. But [m] Justin, of all other most malicious, doth derive the Jews from the Syrian kings; of whom Damascus, saith he, was the first; and to him succeeded Abraham, Moses, and Israel. He again supposeth (somewhat contrary to himself) that Israel had ten sons, among whom he divided the land of Juda; so called of Judas his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sons of Israel he calleth Joseph; who being brought up in Egypt, became learned in magical arts, and in the interpretations of dreams and signs prodigious; and this Joseph, saith he, was father to Moses; who with the rest, by reason of their foul diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished Egypt. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the deserts they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found relief the seventh day, for this cause ever after observed the seventh day, and kept it holy; making it a law among themselves, which after- [illegible] a branch of their religion. He addeth also, [illegible] marry out of their own tribes, lest dis- [illegible] ness they might also be expelled by

[m] Justin. l. 36.

other nations, as they were by the Egyptians. These and like fables hath Justin.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grossly belie them in affirming, that in the inmost oratory of their temple they had the golden head of an ass, which they adored. But herein Tacitus forgetteth himself, having in the fifth book of his own history truly confessed of the Jews, that they worshipped one only God; and thought it most profane to represent the Deity by any material figure, by the shape of a man or any other creature; and they had therefore in their temples no image or representation, no not so much as in any city by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath Alexander Polyhistor, in Stephanus; who also makes Judas with Idumæa the first parents of the Jews.

[n] Claudius Iolaus draws them from Judæus, whose parents were Sparton and Thebis; whence it came, that the Spartans or Lacedæmonians challenged kindred of the Hebrews: but they did it as descended of Abraham, saith Josephus. Some of these reports seem to have been gathered out of divine letters, though wrested and perverted according to the custom of the heathen. For so have they obscured and altered the story of the creation, of paradise, of the flood; and given new names to the children of Adam in the first age; to Noah and his sons in the second; and so to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses, and the rest of the fathers and leaders of the Hebrews; all which feignings, as touching the Jews and their originals, Josephus against Appion and [o] Tertullian have sufficiently answered. For that the Hebrews were the children of Arphaxad and Heber, no man doubteth: and so Chaldeans, originally taking name either of Heber the son of Sale, or else, saith Montanus, of wandering, as is before remembered. And therefore doth Stephanus, the Greek grammarian, derive the Hebrews or Jews from [p] Abrabon; having mistaken the name of Abraham, who was the son of Heber, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grandchildren of Abram; for after Jacob, otherwise Israel, the chief part

[n] Cited by Stephanus in Judæa. [o] Tert. in Apol. [p] Caleb. f. 63.

were called Israel, another part after Esau, or Edom, Edomites; at length the remnant of Jacob, being most of the tribe of Juda, honoured the name of Judas, the son of Jacob, and became Judeans or Jews; as also for a time in the name of Ephraim the son of Joseph, the chief of the patriarchs of the ten tribes, the rest of the ten tribes were comprehended, but were first rooted out when the kingdom of Israel fell. The Judeans continued their names, though they suffered the same servitude not long after, under Nabuchodonosor.

The government which this nation underwent was first paternal; which continued till they served the Egyptians. They were secondly ruled by their captains and leaders, Moses and Joshua, by a policy divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to judges. Fourthly, they desired a king, and had Saul for the first; of whom and his successors before we entreat, we are first to speak of their government under judges, after the death of Joshua; with somewhat of the things of fame in other nations about these times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the world from the death of Joshua to the war of Troy; which was about the time of Jephtha.

SECT. I.

Of the interregnum after Joshua's death; and of Othoniel.

WHEN Joshua was now dead, who with the advice of the seventy elders and the high priest held authority over the people, and ordered that commonweal; it pleased God to direct the tribe of Juda (in whom the kingdom was afterwards established) to undertake the war against the Canaanites, over whom (with God's favour, and the assistance of Simeon) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew 10,000, but made Adonibezek prisoner; the greatest and

cruellest commander both of the Canaanites and Perizzites. This tyrant's cruelty, as elsewhere hath been signified, they returned in the same kind upon his own head: and so, by the torments which he now felt in his own person, (before no otherwise known unto him but by his malicious imagination,) made him confess and acknowledge God's just judgment against himself.

The tribes of Juda and Simeon did also master and possess, during this interregnum, (or, as some think, before the death of Joshua,) the cities of Azotus, Askalon, Ekron, and Jerusalem, which they burnt, and the Jebusites afterwards reedified. They took also the cities of Hebron, Debir, or Kiriath-sepher, and Zephath, afterwards Horma. And although it be not set down in express words that any one person commanded in chief over the people, as Moses and Joshua did; yet it seemeth that Caleb was of greatest authority amongst them, and that he with the advice of Phinees directed and ordered their wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a chief, the good success which followed their undertakings witnesseth the contrary. And it was Caleb, even while Joshua governed, as appears Josh. x. 39, that propounded the attempt of Debir to the rest of the captains; for the performance of which enterprise he promised his daughter Achsah; which he performed to Othoniel his younger brother after the conquest; whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first judge soon after. But while those of Juda made war with their borderers, from whom they only recovered the mountainous countries, (for they could not drive out the inhabitants of the valleys, [q] *because they had chariots of iron*,) the rest of the tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their own territories, in which war they laboured with variable success; for as the house of Joseph recovered [r] Bethel, or Luz, from the Hittites, so did the Amorites recover from Dan all the plain

[q] Judg. i. 19. [r] Judg. i. 25, 32.

countries, and forced them to save themselves in the mountains. And now the Israelites, unmindful of God's benefits, and how often he had miraculously aforetime defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies, (the elders being also consumed, who better advised them in the interregnum,) did not only join themselves in marriage with the heathen nations; but (that which was more detestable) they served the idols of Baal and Asteroth, with other the dead gods of the Canaanites and Amorites. And therefore did the Lord God, whom they had provoked with their idolatry, deliver them into the hands of the Aramites of Mesopotamia, whom Chushan Rishathaim at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of God's displeasure against them eight years, it pleased him to have compassion on his people, and to raise up [s] Othoniel to be their judge and leader; who, by God assisted, delivered his brethren from oppression, and enforced the Aramites to return into their own deserts, and into Mesopotamia adjoining; after which the Israelites had peace forty years, during all the time of Othoniel's government. This Othoniel is thought by Tostatus to have been the younger brother of Caleb, forasmuch as in the book of Judges he is twice called Othoniel the son of Cenaz, Caleb's younger brother. Others do rather interpret those words (Caleb's younger brother) as if they signified the meanest of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely that Caleb's daughter should marry with her own uncle; yet it follows not therefore that Othoniel should have been the meanest of the kindred. Wherefore we may better think that he was the nephew of Caleb, (as some learned men expound it,) and as the very words of scripture seem to enforce. For Caleb was the son of Jephunneth, and Othoniel the son of Cenaz, Caleb's younger brother; that is, he was not brother to Caleb, but his younger brother's son; to whom it was not only lawful, but commendable, to marry with his cousin-german Caleb's daughter.

[illegible] it was from the death of Joshua to the govern-
[illegible] it cannot be found; but it seems to have

[s] Judg. iii. 10.

been no short time; for many wars were made in that space against the people of the land. Laish was then taken (as is thought) by the Danites; and the best writers are of opinion, that between the times of Joshua and Othoniel, that civil war broke out between the Benjamites and the rest of Israel, for the forcing to death of the Levite's wife. For it is written, that *in those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes.* And as [t] Juda led the people against the Canaanites during the interregnum, so was he commanded to do against Benjamin, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a judge to appoint what should be done, which sheweth it to have been when Joshua was dead, and before the government of Othoniel; especially considering that all other times, wherein they wanted governors, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attended such a civil war, if their power had been as great as it was in the managing of this action, wherein they so weakened the body of their estate by effusion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

SECT. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other nations, and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

THERE lived in this age of Othoniel, Pandion, or Pandareus, according to Homer, the fifth king of Athens, who began to rule in the twentieth year of Othoniel, and governed forty years. He was father to Erichtheus: his daughters were Progne and Philomela, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained Thebes; of whose daughter Semele was born Dionysius, or *Liber Pater;* under whom Linus the musician lived. In his time also the cities of Melus, Paphus, and Tharsus were built.

Ida and Dactylus flourished in this age, who are said to

[t] Judges xvii. xviii. and xix.

have found out the use of iron; but Genesis hath taught us the contrary, and that [u] Tubal-Cain long before wrought cunningly both in iron and brass. Not long after this time, Amphion and Zethus governed Thebes; whom divers chronologers find in Ehud's time. But St. Augustine making a repetition of these fables, which were devised among the Grecians and other nations during the government of the judges, begins with Triptolemus, of whose parentage there is a little agreement. Vives, upon the 13th chapter of St. Augustine *de Civitate Dei*, and the 18th book, hath gathered all the opinions of this man's progeny, where he that desires his pedigree may find it. Lactantius and Eusebius make him native of Attica, and the son of Eleusius king of Eleusina: which Eleusius, by careful industry, had fed the people of that territory in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occasion Triptolemus could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by sea in a kind of galley or long boat, which carried in her prow a graven or carved serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to return, and to relieve his people with corn from some neighbour nation, it was feigned by the poets that his coach was carried by serpents through the air.

Whether the times of these kings, which lived together with Othoniel, and after him with the rest of the judges and kings of Israel and Juda, be precisely set down, I cannot avow; for the chronologers, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life; and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I err with others of better judgment. For whether Eusebius and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conversant with these ancient kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the authors themselves, from whom the ancientest chronologers have borrowed light, had no-

[u] Gen. iv. 22. whence came the name of Vulcan by aphæresis of the two first letters.

thing for the warrant of their own works but conjecture: secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those elder days, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any man's understanding, save his own, but that he is greatly distracted after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found, not only in the reigns of heathen kings and princes, but even in computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy scripture hath summed up; as in that of Abraham's birth; and after, in the times of the judges, and the oppressions of Israel; in the times from the egression to the building of Solomon's temple, in the Persian empire, the seventy weeks; and in what not? Wheresoever the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as, for ought that I see, men have sought by so many ways to uncover the sun, that the days thereby are made more dark, and the clouds more condensed, than before: I can therefore give no other warrant than other men have done in these computations; and therefore that such and such kings and kingdoms took beginning in this or that year, I avow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a private opinion, which I submit to better judgments: *Nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda;* "In ancient things we are not to require an "exact narration of the truth," says Diodore.

SECT. III.

Of Ehud's time, and of Proserpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tityus, Admetus, and others that lived about these times

AFTER the death of Othoniel, when Israel fell back to their former idolatry, God encouraged Moab to invade and suppress them; to perform which he joined the forces of Ammon and Amalek unto his own, and so (as all kind of misery readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time withdrawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his displeasure) these heathen neighbouring nations had an easy

conquest over Israel; whom God himself exposed to those perils, within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteen years, under Eglon, king of the Moabites, and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance, but raised up Ehud, the son of Gera, to deliver them; by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the justness of his quarrel, and fearing that the Israelites were too few in numbers to contend with the head of those valiant nations, he resolved to attempt upon the person of Eglon, whom if he could but extinguish, he assured himself of the following victory; especially giving his nation no time to reestablish their government, or to choose a king to command and direct them in the wars. According to which resolution, Ehud went on as an ambassador to Eglon, loaden with presents from the Israelites, as to appease him; and obtaining private access upon the pretence of some secret to be revealed, he pierced his body with a poniard, made of purpose, with a double edge, and shutting the doors of his closet upon him, escaped.

It may seem that being confident of his good success, he had prepared the strength of Israel in readiness. For suddenly after his return, he did repass Jordan, and invading the territory of Moab, overthrew their army, consisting of 10,000 able and strong men; whereof not any one escaped. After which victory, and that Samgar his successor had miraculously slain 600 Philistines with an ox goad, the land and people of Israel lived in peace, unto the end of fourscore years from the death of Othoniel; which term expired in the world's year 2691.

In the days of Ehud, Naomi, with Elimelech her husband, and with her two sons, travelled into Moab; and so the story of Ruth is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourscore years which are given to Ehud it was that Orcus, king of the Molossians, otherwise Pluto, stale Proserpina, as she walked to gather flowers in the fields of Hipponium in Sicilia; or (according to Pausanias in Att.)

by the river Cephisus, which elsewhere he calleth Chemer, if he mean not two distinct rivers. This stealth being made known to Pirithous, with whom Hercules and Theseus joined themselves, they agreed together to recover her; but Pluto or Orcus (whom others call Aidoneus) had, as they say, a very huge dog, which fastened on Pirithous, and tare him in pieces, and had also worried Theseus, but that Hercules speedily rescued him, and by strength took and mastered the dog Cerberus; whereof grew the fable of Hercules's delivering of Theseus out of hell. But Tzetzes, as I take it, hath written this story somewhat more according to the truth. For Theseus and Pirithous, saith he, attempted to steal Proserpina, daughter to Aidoneus, king of the Molossians, who had Ceres to wife, the mother of Proserpina; Proserpina being a general name also for all fair women. This purpose of theirs being known to Aidoneus, Theseus and Pirithous were both taken; and because Pirithous was the principal in this conspiracy, and Theseus drawn on by a kind of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to Aidoneus's great dog Cerberus, the other held prisoner; till Hercules, by the instigation of Eurystheus, delivered him by strong hand. The Molossi, which Stephanus writes with a single *s*, were a people of Epirus, inhabiting near the mountains of Pindus; of which mountains Œta is one of the most famous, where Hercules burnt himself. The river of Acheron (which the poets describe to be in hell) riseth out of the same hills. There is another nation of the Molossi in Thessaly; but these are neighbours to the Cassiopæi, saith Plutarch in his Greek Questions.

The rape of Orithyia, the daughter of Erichtheus, king of Athens, taken away by Boreas of Thrace, is referred to the time of Ehud. The poets ascribe this rape to the north wind, because Thrace is situate north from Athens. In his time also Tereus ravished Philomela, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a nightingale. For Tereus, having married her sister Progne, conducting Philomela from Athens to see her sister, forced her in the pas-

sage, and withal cut out her tongue, that she might not complain; persuading Progne his wife that Philomela died in the midway: all which her brother-in-law's merciless behaviour towards her, Philomela expressed by her needle upon cloth, and sent it to Progne. In revenge whereof, Progne caused her only son Itys to be cut in pieces, and set before Tereus her husband, so dressed, as it appeared to be some other ordinary food; of which when he had eaten his fill, she caused his head, hands, and feet to be presented unto him; and then fled away with such speed towards Athens, where her father Pandion yet lived, as the poets feigned that she was turned into a swallow. The place where it was performed Strabo finds to be Daulis in Phocis; and the tomb of Tereus, [x]Pausanias hath built near the rocks Mergi, in the territory of Athens. By which, as also by the name Daulis, where these things are supposed to have been done, (whence also Philomela is called Daulias ales,) it appears that it is true which Thucydides notes by way of digression in his [y]Peloponnesian war, that this Tereus was not king in that which is now called Thracia, or in Odrysæ, (as the poets call him Odrysius,) but that Phocis, a country in Greece not far from Attica, a city whereof is called Daulia, was in Pandion's time inhabited by Thracians, of which this Tereus was king; whence Pandion, to have amity with his neighbours, made him his son-in-law; as it is good to believe, saith Thucydides, that Pandion, king of Athens, made that alliance with a neighbour king, from whom he might have succour, rather than with any Tereus that should have held the kingdom of Odrysæ, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the poets chose a swallow for Progne to be turned into, may seem to have been partly because, as Pausanias says, *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione hirundines;* "as "if a swallow, remembering the wrong that was there done "to her and to her sister, did for ever hate that place."

Near this time Melampus (who is said to have understood the voices of birds and beasts) flourished, being also

[x] Lib. 9. Pau. in Att. [y] Thuc. l. 2.

esteemed for an excellent physician. He restored to their former health the daughters of [z] Prætus, king of the Argives, who (as the poets please) were made mad by Juno; and, thinking themselves to be kine, fled into the woods, fearing to be constrained to the plough; for in those countries, where the ground was light, they did use often to plough with kine.

In the 47th year of Ehud, Tros began to reign in Dardania, and gave it his own name; about which time Phemone, the chief priest of [a] Apollo in Delphos, devised the heroical verse.

Of the same date was Tantalus, king of Lydia; whom Eusebius makes king of Phrygia, and also of that part of which the people were anciently Mæones. Of Tantalus was devised the fable that some poets have applied to the passion of love, and some to the covetous, that dare not enjoy his riches. [b] Eusebius calls this Tantalus the son of Jupiter by the nymph Pleta; Diaconus and Didymus, in Zezes, give him another mother. He was said to be the son of Jupiter, as some will have it, because he had that planet in his ascendent, betokening wisdom and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the gods, having nothing more precious, he caused his own son to be slain and dressed for the banquet; of whom Ceres eat part of one of the shoulders; whereby was signified, that those men which seek after divine knowledge, prefer nothing on earth before it, no not the care of their own children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was devised that he had always water and fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacy of the world, yet his mind being otherwise, and to higher desires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom Ovid:

Quærit aquas in aquis, et poma fugacia captat
Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

[z] Paus. l. 1. Homer. Odyss. 11.
[a] Paus.
[b] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 2. Zezes Hist. 10. Chil. 5.

Here Tantalus in water seeks
For water, and doth miss
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at:
His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him for that he discovered the secrets of the gods; that is, because he taught wisdom and virtue to mortal men: which story Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly expressed in verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and say, that Tantalus, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirsty of more abundance, was never satisfied. Of whom Horace against covetousness:

Tantalus a labiis sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina. Quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting Tantalus doth catch
At streams that from him flee.
Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd,
The tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of Tantalus that he gave the nectar and ambrosia of the gods to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which Natalis out of Pindarus:

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Coætaniis convivis
Nectar ambrosiamque dedit.

Because that stealing immortality,
He did both nectar and ambrosia give
To guests of his own age, to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of divinity ought not to be imparted to the unpure vulgar. For as the cleanest meats in a foul stomach are therein corrupted, so the most high and reserved mysteries are often perverted by an unclean and defiled mind.

To you it is given (saith Christ in St. Mark iv. 11.) *to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all things be done in parables.* So is it said of him in Mark iv. 34. that *he expounded all things to his disciples*

apart. And therefore doth Gregory Nazianzen infer upon a place of St. Paul, [c] *Quod si Paulo licuisset effari ea, quorum ipsi cognitionem cœlum tertium et usque ad illud progressio suppeditavit, fortasse de Deo nobis aliquid amplius constaret;* "If Paul might have uttered the things, the "knowledge whereof the third heavens, and his going thi- "ther, did bring unto him, peradventure we might know "somewhat more of God."

Pythagoras, saith Reuclin, thought it not the part of a wise man, *asino lyram exponere, aut mysteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut sus tubam, et fidem graculus, et unguenta scarabæus; quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius, quam loquendo apprehendantur;* "to set an ass to a harp, or to "learn mysteries, which he would handle as a swine doth a "trumpet, or a jay a viol, or scarabees and unclean flies "sovereign ointment: wherefore he commanded silence to "his disciples, that they should not disclose divine myste- "ries to the common sort, which are easier learnt by medi- "tation than by babbling." And therefore did the Egyptians communicate their mysteries among their priests in certain hieroglyphic letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the vulgar; and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of Aod, or Ehud, with him it is also said that Tityus lived, whom Apollo slew, because he sought to force his mother Latona. Euphorion hath it thus, that Tityus was the son of Elara, the daughter of Orchomenus; which Elara being beloved of Jupiter, to avoid Juno's revenge he hid Elara in the earth, where she was delivered of Tityus; whose mother dying, and himself therein nourished, he was therefore called the son of the earth. Pausanias, speaking of the grave of this giant, affirms, that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But Tibullus hath a louder lie of his stature out of Homer:

[c] Greg. in Orat. de recta ratione dis. de Deo. 2 Cor. xii.

[d] *Porrectusque novem Tityus per jugera terræ,*
Assiduas atro viscere pascit aves.

Nine furlongs stretch'd lies Tityus, who for his wicked deeds
The hungry birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This Strabo doth thus expound; that Apollo killing this cruel and wicked tyrant of Panopea, a city in Phocis, it was feigned by the poets, to the terror of others, that he was still eaten in hell by birds, and yet still lived, and had his flesh renewed.

Admetus, king of Thessaly, lived also in this age, whom it is said that Apollo first served as a herdman, and afterwards, for his excellent wit, was by him advanced; but having slain Hyacinthus, he crossed the Hellespont, and fled into Phrygia; where, together with Neptune, he was entertained by Laomedon, and got his bread by working in brick, for building of the walls of Troy, not by making the bricks leap into their places by playing on his harp, according to him in Ovid, which saith,

Ilion aspicies, firmataque turribus altis,
Mœnia Apollineæ structa canore lyræ.

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high,
Built with the harp of wise Apollo's harmony.

Thus the poets; but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And that he also laboured at the building of the labyrinth in Greece all the Megarians witness, saith [e] Pausanias.

In these days also of Ehud, or (as some find it) in the days of Deborah, lived Perseus, the son of Jupiter and Danae, by whose soldiers (as they sailed out of Peloponnesus to seek their adventure on Africa side) Medusa, the daughter and successor of Phorcus, being weakly accompanied as she hunted near the lake [f] Triton, was surprised and slain; whose beauty when Perseus beheld, he caused her

[d] Hom. Odyss. 11.
[e] Paus. in Att.
[f] Triton, a lake of Africa, which Pliny calleth Pallantias. Didym. in Pereg. Hist.

head to be embalmed and carried into Greece: the beauty whereof was such, and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on Medusa's head were turned into stones.

Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7th king of Athens, and Acrisius the 13th, or, after [s] Eusebius, the 14th king of the Argives, began also their reigns, as it is said, in the time of this judge; of which the first ruled 40 years, and the second 31 years. Also Bellerophon lived in this age, being the son of Glaucus, the son of Sisyphus; who enticed by Antea or Sthenobia, the wife of Prætus of the Argives, to accompany her, but refusing it, she accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon Prætus sent Bellerophon into Lycia about some affairs of weight between him and his son-in-law Jobates; giving secret order to Jobates to despatch him: but Jobates thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, employed him against Chimæra, a monster vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods, (as the report is,) pitying his innocency, sent him the winged horse Pegasus, sprung up of the blood of Medusa, formerly slain by the soldiers of Perseus in Africa, to transport him; a horse that none other could master or bridle but Minerva: upon which beast Bellerophon overcame Chimæra, and performed the other services given him in charge; which done, as he returned toward Lycia, the Lycians lay in ambush to have slain him; but being victorious also over all those, he arrived to Jobates in safety; whom Jobates for his eminent virtues honoured, first, with one of his daughters, and afterward with his kingdom: after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to fly up to heaven upon his Pegasus; whose pride Jupiter disdaining, caused one of his stinging flies so to vex Pegasus, as he cast off Bellerophon from his back into the valley of Cilicia, where he died blind; of which burden Pegasus being discharged, (as the fable goeth,) flew back to heaven; and, being fed in

[s] Euseb. in Chron.

Jupiter's own stable, Aurora begged him of Jupiter to ride on before the sun. This tale is diversely expounded; as first, by some, that it pleaseth God to relieve men in their innocent and undeserved adversity, and to cast down those which are too highminded; according to that which is said of Bellerophon, that when he was exposed to extreme hazard, or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour; but waxing over proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremity of sorrow and everduring misery. Secondly, by others, that under the name of [h] Chimæra was meant a cruel pirate of the Lycians, whose ship had in her prow a lion, a goat in the midship, and a dragon in the stern, of which three beasts this monster Chimæra was said to be compounded, whom Bellerophon pursued with a kind of galley of such swiftness, that it was called the flying horse; to whom the invention of sails (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other authors; but it is not unlikely that Chimæra was the name of a ship, for so [i] Virgil calleth one of the greatest ships of Æneas.

Ion also, from whom the Athenians (being ignorant of the antiquity of their parent Javan) derive their name of Ions, is said to have been about Ehud's time: [k] Homer calls them Iaones, which hath a near resemblance to the word Javan. Perhaps it might be so, that Ion himself took name from Javan; it being a custom observable in the histories of all times to revive the ancient name of a forefather in some of the principal of his issue.

The invasion of India by *Liber Pater* is by some reported as done in this age: but St. Augustine makes him far more ancient; placing him between the coming out of Egypt and the death of Joshua.

About the end of the 80 years ascribed to Ehud and Samgar, Pelops flourished; who gave name to Peloponnesus in Greece, now called Morea.

[h] Plutarch. in Claris Mulier.
[i] L. 5. Æneid.
[k] Homer in Hymno ad Apoll. lib. 18. c. 12. De Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 15.

SECT. IV.

Of Deborah, and her contemporaries.

AFTER Israel had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80 years, they again began to forget the Giver of all goodness; and many of those being worn out which were witnesses of the former misery, and of God's deliverance by Ehud, and after him by Samgar, the rest began to return to their former neglect of God's commandments. For as plenty and peace are the parents of idle security, so is security as fruitful in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subversion; of which all estates in the world have tasted by interchange of times. Therefore, when their sins were again ripe for punishment, Jabin, king of Hazor, after the death of Ehud, invaded the territory of Israel, and having in his service 900 iron chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twenty years, till it pleased God to raise up Deborah the prophetess, who encouraged Barac to levy a force out of Nephtalim and Zabulon, to encounter the Canaanites. That the men of Nephtalim were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seem to have proceeded partly from the authority that Barac had among them, being of the same tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible than in others, because Hazor and Haroseth, the chief holds of Jabin, were in Nephtalim. So in the days of Jephtha, the Gileadites took the greatest care, because the Ammonites, with whom the war was, pressed most upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of Ehud to deliver Israel from the Moabite, and by the counsel and courage of a woman to free them from the yoke of Canaan, and to kill the valiant Sisera by Jael the Kenite's wife; so was it his will at other times to work the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty Assyrian Nabuchodonosor, who was a king of kings, and resistless, he overthrew by his own imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy; and changed his matchless pride into the base hu-

mility of a beast. And to prove that he is the Lord of all power, he sometimes punisheth by invisible strength, as when he slaughtered the army of Sennacherib by his angel; or as he did the Egyptians in Moses's time: sometimes by dead bodies, as when he drowned Pharaoh by the waves of the sea, and the Canaanites by hailstones in the time of Joshua: sometimes by the ministry of men, as when he overthrew the four kings of the east, Chedorlaomer and his companions by the household servants of Abraham. He caused the Moabites and Ammonites to set upon their own confederates the army of the Edomites; and having slain them, to kill one another in the sight of [l]Jehosaphat; and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did Deborah the prophetess speak unto Barac in these words: [m] *But this journey that thou takest shall not be for thine honour; for the Lord shall sell Sisera into the hands of a woman.* In which victory all the strength of the Canaanite Jabin fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which war it seemeth that Jabin himself also perished, as appeareth by Judges iv. 24.

After all which, Deborah giveth thanks to God; and after the acknowledgment of all his powerfulness and great mercies, she sheweth the weak estate whereinto Israel was brought for their idolatry, by the Canaanites and other bordering nations, in these words: [n] *Was there a shield or spear seen among forty thousand of Israel?* She also sheweth how the Israelites were severed and amazed, some of them confined over Jordan, and durst not join themselves to the rest; as those of Reuben in Gilead; that the Asherites kept the sea-coast, and forsook their habitations towards the land; and the children of Dan, who neighboured the sea, crept into their ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. She then curseth the inhabitants of Meroz, who dwelling near the place of the battle, (belike fearing the success,) came not out to assist Israel, and then blesseth Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, who nailed Sisera in her tent; shewing the ancient affection

[l] 2 Chron. xx. [m] Judges iv. 9. [n] Judges v. 18.

of that race to the Israelites. For though the family of Heber were enforced in that miserable time of subjection to hold correspondence with Jabin the Canaanite, yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their love and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, she derideth the mother of Sisera, who promised her son the victory in her own hopes; and fancied to herself and described the spoils both of garments and maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, she directeth her praises and thanks to God only victorious.

From the beginning of Jabin's oppression, to the end of that peace which Deborah and Barac purchased unto Israel, there passed 40 years; in which time the kingdom of Argos, which had continued 544 years, was translated to Mycænæ. The translation of this kingdom Vives, out of Pausanias, writeth to this effect: "After Danaus, Lynceus succeeded in Argos, after whom the children of Abas, the son of Lynceus, divided the kingdom; of which Acrisius, being eldest, held Argos itself: Prætus his brother possessed Ephyra or Corinth, and Tirynthos, and other cities, with all the territory towards the sea, there being many monuments in Tirynthos which witness Prætus's possession, saith [o] Pausanias."

Now Acrisius was foretold by an oracle that he should be slain by the son of his daughter Danae; whereupon he caused her to be enclosed in a tower, to the end that no man might accompany her. But the lady being exceeding fair, it is feigned that Jupiter turned himself into a golden shower, which, falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some king's son, or other worthy man, corrupted her keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom Perseus was born; who, when he grew to man's estate, either by chance, (saith Ctesias,) or in shewing his grandfather the invention of the discus, or leaden ball, slew him unwillingly. After this, Perseus, to avoid the in-

[o] Pausan. in Corinthiacis.

famy of patricide in Argos, changed kingdoms with his uncle Prætus, and built Mycenæ. This imprisonment of Danae Sophocles reporteth otherwise; and that she was enclosed in a brasen vault, under the king's hall, with her nurse and keepers. Upon this close custody Horace hath this witty observation:

Inclusam Danaen turris ahenea,
Robustæque fores, et vigilum canum
Tristes excubiæ, munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:
Si non Acrisium virginis abditæ
Custodem pavidum Jupiter et Venus
Risissent, fore enim tutum iter et patens
Converso in pretium deo.
Aurum per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.———————

The brasen tower with doors close barr'd,
And watchful bandogs frightful guard,
Kept safe the maidenhead
Of Danae from secret love:
Till smiling Venus and wise Jove
Beguil'd her father's dread.
For, changed into a golden shower,
The god into her lap did pour
Himself, and took his pleasure.
Through guards and stony walls to break,
The thunderbolt is far more weak,
Than is a golden treasure.

The first kings of the Argives were these:

Inachus the first king, who began to reign in the first year of Jacob, and the sixty-first of Isaac; from which time, to the end of Sthenelus, Castor misreckoneth 400 years. This kingdom before the translation Eusebius accounteth to have stood 544 years, others but at 417. Io was the daughter of this Inachus, whom the Egyptians called Isis.

PHORONEUS,	STHENELUS,
APIS,	DANAUS,
ARGUS,	LYNCEUS,
PIRASUS,	ABAS,
PHORBAS,	ACRISIUS,
TRIOPAS,	PELOPS.
CROTOPUS,	

After the translation to Mycenæ, Mar. Scotus finds these kings:

PERSEUS, STHENELUS, EURYSTHEUS.

ATREUS and THYESTES, } The sons of Pelops by Hippodamia: Atreus by Europe had Agamemnon and Menelaus.

AGAMEMNON,	TISAMENUS,
ÆGYSTHUS,	PENTHILUS, and
ORESTES,	COMETES.

Of these kings, Mercator and Bunting leave out the two first and the last; beginning with Eurystheus, and ending with Penthilus. In Tisamenus's time the Heraclidæ returned into Peloponnesus, of which hereafter.

The contemporaries of Barac and Debora were, Midas, who reigned in Phrygia, and Ilus, who built Ilium; with others mentioned in our chronological table, as contemporaries with Debora.

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